The Land of the Lion and the Sun
British Travel--writing on Persia, 1890--1940

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Contents

Thesis Abstract

This thesis explores the diversity and evolution of British travel-writing on Persia from 1890, and argues that as a liminal space with the British geo-political world view, Persia offered an especially fertile ground for travel-writers to record their experiences in a wide variety of forms and styles. Furthermore, European awareness of ancient and early modern Persian history, culture and literature colours many of the works, which are seen to evolve towards a more poetically inclined style of travel-literature in the 1920s and 1930s. With a structure which often compares men's and women's writing from the same decade, the selection of authors stresses travel-writing's connections with other genres including journalism, war reportage, accounts of military exploration and missionary memoir. Over the fifty years of the thesis, Britain engaged deeply with Persian internal politics, and records emerge from soldiers, diplomats, missionaries and independent travellers.

The first chapter compares George Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892) with Ella Sykes' *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle* (1896), particularly their implied readers. The second chapter compares Percy Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* (1902), a cartographically and historically engaged text, with the work of a missionary, Mary Hume-Griffith, whose *Behind the Veil* (1906) considers the position of women in Persia, and implicitly in Britain. Chapter 3 discusses various engagements with the Persian Constitutional Revolution: the memoirs of journalists; the British Government's Persia Committee; and the Persia Society. Chapter 4 looks at the war memoirs to emerge from Persia, then Vita Sackville-West's two travelogues, *Passenger to Teheran* (1926) and *Twelve Days* (1928). The final chapter considers Freya Stark's *The Valleys of the Assassins* (1934) and Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana* (1937), reassessing the pair in the light of their predecessors.

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A number of archives and libraries have offered immense support, not least the British Library. I have also consulted the Church Missionary Society Archives, Birmingham University; Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford; Middle East Centre Archives, Oxford; Percy Molesworth Sykes Archives held at the Royal Geographical Society, London; the Royal Anthropological Institute, London; the Royal Academy Library, London; the Royal Society for Asian Affairs, London; and the Thomas Cook Archives, Peterborough. Special thanks to Debbie Usher at the MEC Archives, and Paul Smith at the Thomas Cook Archives. Also thanks to Dr. Moya Carey of the Middle Eastern Section at London's Victoria & Albert Museum, for correspondence on Percy Sykes, Basil Robinson and Islamic art.

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again for inviting me to present on Mary Hume-Griffith at the King's Postcolonial seminar series in March 2011, and to Dr Ian Henderson for his incisive and elucidating questions. Delegates at 'Modes of Transport: Travel-writing and form, 1780-1914', a two-day conference I co-organised with Brian Murray in May 2011, were also hugely inspiring. At a Strandlives events at King's in May 2012 I met Dr Lindsay Allen from the King's Classics Department. She researches the archaeological finds of Robert Ker Porter and Arthur Upham Pope, and my thanks go to her for sharing her unpublished work on Pope and Persepolis.

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Abbreviations

CUP	Cambridge University Press
EI	*Encyclopædia Iranica*
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OUP	Oxford University Press

Spellings

Transliterations of Persian vary greatly. Examples include Ispahan / Isfahan / Esfahan, Ferdowsi / Firdausi / Firdawsi, Tehran and Teheran. I follow the choice of the writer under discussion.

Map of Iran[1]

[1] This map shows the twenty-first century national boundaries of Iran, and the major sites mentioned within this thesis. It is drawn from http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/iran_map.htm, accessed 3 April 2012.

Introduction: Texts and Contexts

Persia, called the Highway of Nations by all her historians, has ever been the route of invasion from the West, and of Western Ambition in the East. Famous names have blazed the trail through the land, of a history vivid with great marches and greater conquests. Cyrus, Darius, Alexander, Genghis Khan, and Timurlane, to name but five great captains, campaigned through her rolling plains and gaunt valleys and over her mountain passes.[2]

Restrictions of locality seem the more reasonable and appropriate if the country to which the discussion is to be restricted has in the course of history drawn a ceaseless stream of travellers, among whom some of considerable literary distinction, so that almost every century saw the appearance of one or more distinguished travel-books on that country. Such is the case of Persia, which, more perhaps than any other country in the world, has had the interest of English-writing travellers throughout the centuries: interest, diplomatic as the buffer-state between India and Russia; romantic as the scene of many stories of the Arabian Night and the birthplace of Omar Khayyam; commercial because its soil yields oil and other minerals and, because in former centuries, it was one of the greatest producers of silk; archaeological as one of the oldest empires of world-history; missionary as one of the most fanatical Muhammedan countries in the world; religious as the birthplace of innumerable sects.[3]

This thesis explores the evolution of British travel-writing on Persia, now known as Iran, from 1890 to 1940. It argues that this hitherto little examined body of works offers important insights into the transformation of travel-writing in terms of focus and implied reader at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Furthermore, an exploration of travelogues from the preceding decades puts into sharp relief the innovations of Vita Sackville-West, Freya Stark and Robert Byron, whose works on Persia from the 1920s and 1930s are recognised as some of the twentieth century's most engaging or impressive travel literature. Travel-writing is analysed within this thesis in its most varied forms, encompassing various types of life-writing, including journalism, war writing and missionary memoir. Travel texts from Persia during this half-century are not all simply narratives of sites seen, but informative or advisory works akin to guide-books, or sometimes political treatises, or works in dialogue with reports to formal bodies such as the British Army or the Church Missionary Society. Within the group of works selected for analysis within this thesis, one sees over the fifty years an increasing concern for the literary qualities of travel-writing, as the implied audience extends beyond specialists and those likely to travel to Persia themselves. The narrative traced suggests that as a country becomes more familiar to the potential traveller and the implied reader, a

[2] Ernest L. H. Williams and Sidney Hay, *By Order of the Shah. A relation of a journey through Persia* (London: Cassell & Co, 1937).
[3] M. H. Braaksma, *Travel and Literature: An attempt at a literary appreciation of English travel-books about Persia, from the Middle Ages to the present day* (Groningen, Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1938), p.10.

strict purpose of travel and travel-writing becomes less necessary. As the purpose of travel shifts in focus from official to informal, from bound to an organisation or higher mission to an independent and pleasure-seeking undertaking, so do travel texts move from the advisory to the journalistic to the artistic. Of course, examples can be found to counter this pattern. Less skilfully written or interesting works were published throughout the timespan of this thesis, texts which have faded into obscurity as much as or even more than some of the texts analysed here. A comprehensive annotated bibliography of British travelogues on Persia from 1890 to 1940 is attached as Appendix A to this work. This appendix highlights the extraordinary breadth of British travel-writing on Persia at this time and provides a broader context for the works considered in detail within the thesis. Travellers ranged from the keenest Persianists or Persophiles to those less enamoured of their experience in Persia; from those who travelled for work, or under obligation to a relative, to those who travelled from personal choice.[4] Appendix A complements the close readings of the texts selected for analysis within the main body of the thesis, which are some of the most interesting texts in terms of the writer's status, the motivations for travel, and the ways in which the experience of Persia was transcribed and presented. These works have been selected for their connections, contrasts, and for the narrative of increasing literary concern which they present when read as a whole.

The thesis reveals the particularly literary view of Persia adopted by many British travellers; knowledge of Hafiz, Rumi, Omar Khayyam and other Persian writers shapes some travelogues considerably.[5] Aside from this literary perspective, travelogues on Persia often view the country through the prism of contemporary politics. This thesis suggests ways in which one might interpret travelogues from outside the formal colonial sphere, which still present many of the hallmarks of the imperial eye. Orientalism, in its varied forms, is evident in many travelogues studied here; and the theoretical framework of this thesis draws not only on Edward Said's significant work, but post-colonial theorists who have since discussed the

[4] 'Persianist, n.: An expert in or student of Persian language, culture, etc. … This word was first included in *New English Dictionary*, 1905, as a subentry of "Persian, n. and adj."' *OED*, third edition, December 2005; online version September 2011. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/236611>; accessed 26 September 2011. The emergence of 'Persophile' is outlined in Chapter 3.

[5] 'For professional writers in particular, literature can provide both an initial inspiration and a continuing reference-point during phases of travel.' Clive J. Christie, 'British Literary Travellers in Southeast Asia in an Era of Colonial Retreat', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (October, 1994), 673-737, p.673.

intersections of orientalisms and colonialisms, including Rana Kabbani and Ali Behdad.[6] Such consideration of the heterogeneity of colonialism and the participation or resistance of women to the empire informs this thesis.

Persia remained an ostensibly independent country throughout the fifty years of this study, 1890-1940. The British government's attitude towards Persia was throughout, however, imperial in tone if not colonising in practice. Owing to its proximity to India, Persia had been central to nineteenth-century British anxieties about expansionist Russia. In the aftermath of WWI too, Persia was liminal to Britain's moment in the Middle East, as mandates were established over Palestine, Transjordan and Mesopotamia.[7] Persia was thus regularly perceived as peripheral to the better-known India and the more-often visited Levant and Holy Land, and liminal to other British political concerns. An analysis of travelogues on this country suggests ways in which post-colonial literary study can be extended beyond the borders of the formal colonies, and the ways in which tropes from colonised regions entered the discourse of, for example, depictions of servants in Persia. The thesis concludes in 1940, before the Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran that was coupled with the forced abdication of Reza Shah Pahlavi in favour of his son. These events once again shift British perceptions of the country and its independence. According to R. W. Ferrier the entry of Allied forces into Iran 'was deeply resented and did much to cloud Anglo-Iranian relations in the following years, particularly over the oil crisis in 1951.'[8] There exists a substantial body of British travel-writing on Iran from after WWII, but arguably the apogee of British travel-writing on Persia comes in the 1930s as literary writing blended with contemporary fascination with Persian art and architecture; hence, the closing date of this thesis.

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[6] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978; London: Penguin, 2003). These include: Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient* (1986; 2nd edn. London: Pandora, 1994); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press, 1994); Ali Behdad, *Belated Travellers: Orientalism in the age of colonial dissolution* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994). Others have explored the position of British women in the colonial sphere, and their work has also influenced my thesis: Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992); Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An analysis of women's travel writing and colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, religion and work* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1995); Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, gender, empire, and the cultures of travel* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996).

[7] Elizabeth Monroe, *Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-1956* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963).

[8] R. W. Ferrier, 'Anglo-Iranian Relations iii. Pahlavi period,' *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 1985, Last Updated: August 5, 2011, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anglo-iranian-relations-iii, accessed 1 April 2012.

The first travelogue discussed in this thesis was written by a prominent figure in Anglo-Persian relations from his first visit in 1890 until his death in 1925. George Curzon, MP at the time of his journey to Persia and later Viceroy of India, wrote a comprehensive study of contemporary Persia, replete with historical information, cartographic surveys, and his own Russophobia, in 1892. This work, *Persia and the Persian Question*, had a profound influence on British travellers to Persia for many years to come.[9] Of the many other travelogues from the *fin-de-siècle* written about Persia, Curzon's is contrasted in Chapter 1 with *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle* by Ella Sykes.[10] This thesis wherever possible adopts a comparative approach to men's and women's writing. This is particularly appropriate given British travel-writing on Persia is a relatively understudied field, and a comparative approach can establish which tropes are gendered in relation to the particular writer's experience, and which are recurrent in men's and women's conceptualisation of Persia.[11] This approach is also a response to the arguments of critics such as Sara Mills, who has stated: 'the very fact of discussing "women's" travel writing only makes sense in relation to the body of work labelled "men's" travel writing, and those elements that are codified as stereotypically "feminine" and "masculine" within those works.'[12] Through contrasting these *fin-de-siècle* accounts of Persia one realises the extent of the gendered nature of these travelogues. Sykes' work shares Curzon's advisory tone, but directed towards a female audience who might travel as she did to assist a male relative. The reading of this text is also influenced by Alison Blunt's work.[13]

In Chapter 2, the thesis looks at the work of Ella's brother Percy, and argues that his 1902 work *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* presents a greater interest in modernity than either his sister's or Curzon's works.[14] Presenting a similarly modern focus, the

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[9] George Nathaniel Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question. 2 vol.* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892).
[10] Ella Sykes, *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle* (London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1898).
[11] As templates for this comparative approach, see: Wendy S. Mercer, 'Gender and Genre in Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing: Leonie d'Aunet and Xavier Marmier', in *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial theory in transit*, ed. Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), pp.147-163; and Susan L. Blake, 'A Woman's Trek: What difference does gender make?', in *Western Women and Imperialism*, ed. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, pp.19-34.
[12] Sara Mills, 'Knowledge, Gender, and Empire', in *Writing Women and Space*, p.30.
[13] Alison Blunt, 'Imperial Geographies of Homes: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1999), 421-440. See also Laura E. Donaldson, *Decolonizing Feminisms: Race, gender and empire building* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
[14] Percy Molesworth Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia; or, eight years in Iran* (London: John Murray, 1902).

single missionary memoir considered within this thesis – although there are many more records of British missionaries in Persia from the era – records an engagement with questions of rights for women, not only from the religious perspective, but also in relation to the contemporary suffragette movement in Britain.[15] Mary Hume-Griffith's *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia* was published in 1909, and her experience of Persia was shaped by the Sykes siblings' experience of Kerman the previous decade.[16] Hume-Griffith employed Ella's former maid, and the Church Missionary Society had been warned against sending women to Kerman by Percy Sykes, formerly British consul in that city. One of the defining features of British travel-writing on Persia over these five decades is the many close connections between the writers, and resultant intertexuality of their travelogues.[17] The study of this text contributes to the debate surrounding imperial missionary feminism, and draws on Nima Naghibi's *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran*.[18]

The work of two well-known journalists from opposing sides of British political opinion regarding the Constitutional Revolution forms the subject of study in Chapter 3. The contrasts evident between David Fraser's *Persia and Turkey in Revolt* (1910) and Arthur Moore's *The Orient Express* (1914) highlight the different ways in which copy might be transformed into a travelogue.[19] The increasing interest in the literary quality of travelogues is evident in these works, and also that of T. C. Fowle, whose 1916 memoir *Travels in the Middle East* is also considered in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 considers the writings of a body of men who fought in north-west Persia and Baku on the Caspian during World War I. This group was known as

[15] Guli Francis-Dehqani, 'CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884-1934', in *The Church Mission Society, and World Christianity, 1799-1999*, ed. Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley, (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press Ltd, 2000). Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds., *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999).
[16] M. E. Hume-Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia. An account of an Englishwoman's eight years' residence amongst the women of the East ... With narratives of experiences in both countries by A. Hume-Griffith* (London: Seeley & Co., 1909).
[17] 'From classical times one of the main characteristics of travel literature is its intertextuality, the reference to previous or contemporary works.' 'Introduction', Vita Fortunati, Rita Monticelli and Maurizio Ascari, *Travel Writing and the Female Imaginary* (Bologna, Pàtron Editore, 2001), p.7.
[18] Nima Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western feminism and Iran* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
[19] David Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt* (London & Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1910). Arthur Moore, *The Orient Express. Sketches of travel in Persia and the Balkans* (London: Constable & Co., 1914).

Dunsterforce after its leader Lionel Dunsterville.[20] Dunsterville was as a young man the model for Kipling's Stalky, and so can be seen to link literary imaginings of the Victorian Empire, the boys trained to run it, and the Great Game so vividly depicted in Kipling's *Kim* (1901), and WWI in Persia. In his war memoir, Alfred Rawlinson describes viewing the Behistun inscription in Persia which his father Henry Rawlinson had spent many years deciphering in the mid-nineteenth century; again the modernity of the war – both in terms of its technology and accounts of it – contrasts with earlier works, literary or linguistic. The travelogue of another member of Dunsterforce describes not the author's experiences during WWI, but a drive *By Car to India*, accompanied by a cameraman from Pathé Frères in the 1920s.[21] Francis Forbes-Leith's travelogue and accompanying travel film highlight the extraordinarily rapid transformation of travel practices since Curzon's journey in 1890. Furthermore, his text presents an example of the Orientalist perspectives evident in most of the memoirs by British soldiers who fought in Persia during WWI. Chapter 4 concludes with a revisionist analysis of Vita Sackville-West's famous travelogue *Passenger to Teheran* from 1926, and the lesser known and studied *Twelve Days* from 1928, positioning Sackville-West in the field of Britons in Persia in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[22] Furthermore, the works' modernist form is shown to develop from the increasing selectivity of material and concern with creating a readable and enjoyable text which was of interest to many of Sackville-West's predecessors.

The thesis concludes with an analysis of Freya Stark's *The Valleys of the Assassins* from 1934 and Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana* from 1937.[23] The works both consider the modernization of Iran, and also art, buildings and relics from previous centuries. Despite the similarity of the authors' experience of Persia the texts are rarely compared; nor has their indebtedness to so many travellers and travel writers who had preceded them, including Curzon, been explored. One major goal of the study is therefore to contextualize these works in the light of the travelogues of the previous fifty years, and to propose why these enjoy such popularity and longevity in

[20] Lionel Charles Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (London: Edward Arnold, 1920). Alfred Rawlinson, *Adventures in the Near East, 1918-22* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1923).
[21] F. A. C. Forbes-Leith, *By Car to India* (London: Hutchinson, 1925).
[22] Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran* (London: L. & V. Woolf, 1926), and *Twelve Days: An account of a journey across the Bakhtiari mountains in South-western Persia* (London: L. & V. Woolf, 1928).
[23] Freya Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins, and other Persian travels* (London: John Murray, 1934). Robert Byron, *The Road to Oxiana* (London: Macmillan, 1937).

contrast with so many other early twentieth-century travelogues on Persia which have never been reprinted nor studied in detail, and whose writers have had no biographies written on them. Byron's and Stark's works are still popular today, while the form and content of Curzon's, the Sykes siblings' works and many others, have rendered them alien to the modern reader. It does not follow, however, that these works had minimal impact in their day. An ambition of this thesis is therefore to highlight forgotten works, such as Moore's and Fowle's, which shed light on the evolution of British travel-writing, as well as the broader Anglo-Persian interaction between 1890 and 1940. This literary approach applied from Curzon to Byron echoes for example Kabbani's analysis of *Modern Egyptians*, Daniel Bivona's work on *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, the work of Paul Fussell, and many others.[24]

Travel to Persia throughout the period in question remained arduous, as materials at the Thomas Cook archives make clear. In 1906 and 1909 *Cook's Traveller's Gazette* included limited information on travel in Persia, one page in the former and two in the latter.[25] The 1909 Gazette warned: 'Ladies should on no account attempt to undertake the journey, but for gentlemen accustomed to the saddle there need be no actual hardship.'[26] Despite the challenges of travel, 'the scenes through which he passes will imprint themselves… deeply on his memory.'[27] Information offered included recommended seasons for travel, expenses, kit and hotels. English saddles and India rubber baths were recommended, and dress suits should the traveller have 'any introductions.' Also publicised in the 1909 *Gazette* was the pamphlet *Information for Travellers in Persia*, which was 'based on a journey from Enzeli to Bushire made by Mr F. H. Cook and Mr. E. E. Cook, giving details of routes to and through Persia, with distances, fares, and much useful matter for intending travellers.'[28] The free pamphlet therefore offered information primarily based on a trip which took place twenty years earlier. The Cook brothers Frank Henry and Ernest Edward were the grandsons of Thomas, and ran the company following the

[24] Kabbani 39-40; Daniel Bivona, *British Imperial Literature, 1870-1940: writing and the administration of empire* (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York: CUP, 1998); Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British literary travelling between the wars (*New York and Oxford: OUP, 1980).
[25] *Cook's Traveller's Gazette, Excursionist & Tourist Advertiser*, ed. and published by Thos. Cook & Son, Volume LVI, No. 11, November 1906, p.14. Peterborough, Thomas Cook Archives, accessed 12 August 2010.
[26] *Cook's Traveller's Gazette, Excursionist & Tourist Advertiser*, ed. and published by Thos. Cook & Son, Volume LIX, No. 11, November 1909, p.16. Peterborough, Thomas Cook Archives, accessed 12 August 2010.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

death of their father John in 1899, until they sold it in 1928.[29] The 1889 'Notes on a journey through Persia,' ascribed to Frank, note the impact of the Shah's visit that year to Britain on demand for information on travelling in Persia, as well as the Cooks' organisation of 'the whole of the arrangements for the journey of His Imperial Majesty through Great Britain.' Their notes also highlight the connections between travellers and diplomats in Persia in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, as this thesis makes clear; the men were advised and briefly accompanied on their trip by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, British Minister in Teheran. Setting the tone for decades to come, Frank writes 'the trip is certainly one that ladies should not undertake.' Isabella Bird and Ella Sykes, however, undertook just such a trip, the latter during the coldest part of the year just four years after the Cook brothers wrote their warning. One observes from the Cook brothers' travel notes the vagueness of sites of interest at this date. Persepolis of 1889, prior to the substantial early-twentieth century excavations which granted it World Heritage Site status in 1979, is summarized perfunctorily: 'The ruins are well worth a visit.'[30] Ispahan is described as 'a thoroughly oriental city, and the bazaars are very fine; beyond this and the life of the street there is nothing to be seen.' In 1979, the Meidan Emam – a vast seventeenth-century square around which the bazaars run, site also of two mosques and a fifteenth-century Timurid palace – in the city, now more usually transcribed as Isfahan, was also designated a World Heritage Site.[31]

In 1912, women are still advised that 'ladies should on no account attempt the journey.'[32] This particular pamphlet recommends certain travelogues to supplement Cook's information, suggesting the very advisory and factual basis of travelogues on Persia at this date. Recommended books included A. V. Williams Jackson's *Persia Past and Present* (1906), 'the most up to date book on the country, and probably the best.' Other recommendations ranged from the relatively recent (*Through Persia from the Gulf to the Caspian* from 1909 by F. B. Bradley-Birt) to texts a decade old (Percy Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles*, Savage Landor's *Across Coveted Lands*, and

[29] E. J. T. Collins, 'Cook, Ernest Edward (1865–1955)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50036, accessed 18 October 2011]
[30] F. H. Cook, 'Notes on a journey through Persia,' no page numbers, Peterborough, Thomas Cook Archives, accessed 12 August 2010. 'Persepolis,' UNESCO, World Heritage List, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/114, accessed 28 March 2012.
[31] 'Meidan Emam, Esfahan,' UNESCO, World Heritage List, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/115/, accessed 28 March 2012.
[32] *Information for Travellers in Persia*, issued by Thos. Cook & Son, 1912. Peterborough, Thomas Cook Archives, accessed 12 August 2010.

Lady Durand's *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia*, all published in 1902), to texts from twenty years earlier (Mrs. Bishop's *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, published in 1891, and *Persia* by S. G. W. Benjamin from 1888). There are two notable omissions in this pamphlet: firstly, Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question*, designed to function as a guide book as well as comprehensive history; and secondly, any reference to the recent political upheavals in the country as a result of the Persian Constitutional Revolution. The risks of travelling in the country are implied in the absence of references to Persia in the *Traveller's Gazette* from 1910 to 1923. As a point of contrast, a 1908 pamphlet advertising camping tours in Palestine, Syria, Sinai, Petra and Mesopotamia includes photographs of women travelling by side-saddle, and a 1923 edition of the *Traveller's Gazette* labeled Mesopotamia 'A Land Made Fit for Tourists.'[33] By the 1927-8 season, Thomas Cook advertised extensions by car from the 'Magic Heart of the East' terminus in Baghdad into Persia, specifically Kermanshah, Hamadan and Tehran.[34] The description of 'the lure of Persia,' the sunset changing the scene 'as if magically,' 'cool breezes from the hills' which are 'subtly perfumed,' and the 'city's many thoroughfares' with their 'vivid and mysterious life,' conveys some of the exoticism Persia was understood to retain.[35] By 1934 the *Traveller's Handbook to Palestine, Syria & Iraq* proclaimed that 'the journey from Baghdad to Tehran can now be completed in 48 hours.'[36] It is clear from the Cook archives, however, that travel to Persia from 1890 to 1940 was never mainstream in comparison to the Levant and Holy Land, and for nearly half of that period at least, categorically discouraged for women.

In its particular temporal and geographic scope, the combination of women's and men's writing, its literary analysis, and the scrutiny of colonial attitudes outside the formal empire, this thesis adopts current critical approaches in travel-writing studies. In their 'factual but crafted' dialogue published as *Talking About Travel Writing* in 2007, Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs discussed the literary nature of travel-writing, the main critical approaches to travel-writing, the politics of travel-writing and their

[33] *Camping Tours in Palestine, Syria, Sinai, Petra, Mesopotamia, etc.* 1908. Peterborough, Thomas Cook Archives, accessed 12 August 2010. 'A Land Made fit for Tourists: The Remarkable Development of Mesopotamia,' *Cook's Traveller's Gazette, Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, ed. and pub. Thos. Cook & Son, Vol. LXXIII, No. 12, December 1923. Peterborough, Thomas Cook Archives, accessed 12 August 2010.
[34] *The Magic Heart of the East, season 1927-8. Tours to Mesopotamia (Iraq) under the management of Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd.*, p.8. Peterborough, Thomas Cook Archives, accessed 12 August 2010.
[35] Ibid 27-9.
[36] *Cook's Traveller's Handbook to Palestine, Syria & Iraq, sixth edition,* rev. and partially rewritten by Christopher Lumby (London: Simkin Marshall, 1934).

preferred methods of teaching travel-writing.[37] As the joint editors of the *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Hulme and Youngs offer key insights into the field.[38] Hulme argues for an inclusive approach which 'will have no trouble including travel writing of all sorts under the rubric of literature.'[39] Youngs agrees, saying 'travel writing can be and is literature, in both the broad and refined sense of the word. It is both popular and "high" art.'[40] Particularly in the work depicted in Appendix A, but also in the range of styles of text selected for analysis within the body of the thesis, this study follows this egalitarian and open-minded approach to travel texts which might or might not be literary in style and content. Youngs points to four key texts which have, he argues, resulted in the study of travel-writing being 'concerned largely with exposing the genre's rootedness in mercantile, colonial, and imperial expansion, as well as with its gendered discourses.' These texts are Said's *Orientalism* (1978), Hulme's *Colonial Encounters* (1986), Sara Mills' *Discourses of Difference* (1991), and Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* (1992). Expanding upon Youngs' identification of travel-writing's mercantile, colonial and imperial roots as well as its gendered discourses, this thesis seeks to clarify the extent of the pejorative homogenising orientalist eye in British travelogues on Persia, and considers in detail women's responses to the *anderoon*, or Persian women's quarters. In each chapter I describe contemporary political developments, which highlight Britain's imperial attitude towards Persia without formal colonisation.

Youngs in 2007 also suggested that the study of travel-writing might in future demonstrate 'a proliferation of, and increased attention to, critical works that specialise in regions or periods or types of traveller.'[41] Through its ground-breaking study of British travel-writing on Persia from 1890 to 1940 this thesis offers an example of such a focused approach, as do other recent works by Tony Lurcock and Beatrice Teissier.[42] Examples have focused on Arabia and the broader Middle East,

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[37] Tim Youngs, 'Dressed in leather: The Travel Guise,' 'Travel and Truth: International research conference,' Wolfson College, Oxford, 16-18 September 2011. Peter Hulme, *Talking About Travel Writing: a conversation between Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs* (Leicester: The English Association, 2007).

[38] *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). See also Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge, 2011).

[39] Hulme 2.

[40] Ibid 6.

[41] Ibid 9.

[42] Tony Lurcock, *'Not So Barren or Uncultivated': British Travellers in Finland 1760–1830* (London: CB Editions, 2010). Beatrice Teissier, ed., *Russian Frontiers: Eighteenth-century British travellers in the Caspian, Caucasus and Central Asia* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2011). See bibliography for further

but rarely on Persia.[43] Apparently just one book-length study of British travellers to Persia exists, and this work from 1938 by M. H. Braaksma is considered in the introduction to Chapter 5.[44] Some articles consider the Anglo-Persian encounter in Qajar Iran and the early Pahlavi era.[45] A study of Indo-Persian travelogues from 1400-1800 exists, and this would prove interesting in comparison with European narratives from the same era on the same region.[46] Similarly, essays exist on Qajar travellers' experiences.[47] No study to date has subjected British travel-writing on Persia from Curzon's magnum opus to the still admired works of Stark and Byron to literary analysis, as this thesis aims to do. In contrast, Russian travellers to Persia covering broadly the same have been studied by Elena Andreeva.[48]

This disregard cannot be attributed to a paucity of material, as Appendix A makes clear, and as a recent anthology of travel accounts on Persia also suggests.[49] Furthermore, recent bibliographies on Persia have sought to catalogue vast quantities of material on Persia, particularly relating to the Qajar period.[50] Another

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examples, including Monica Anderson, Thomas J. Assad, Charles L. Batten, Chloe Chard, Mark Cocker, Laura E. Franey, Paul Fussell, Nigel Leask, Gerald M. MacLean, Sarah de Mul.

[43] Robin Fedden, *English Travellers in the Near East* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958). Robin Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia* (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd, 1976). Carroll McC. Pastner, 'Englishmen in Arabia: Encounters with Middle Eastern Women,' *Signs*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Winter, 1978), 309-323. Kathryn Tiddrick, *Heart Beguiling Araby: The English Romance with Arabia* (1990; London: Tauris Park Paperbacks, 2010). Geoffrey Nash, *From Empire to Orient: Travellers to the Middle East 1830-1926* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005).

[44] M. H. Braaksma, *Travel and Literature. An attempt at a literary appreciation of English travel-books about Persia, from the Middle Ages to the present day* (Groningen, Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1938).

[45] Leonard Helfgott, 'Carpet Collecting in Iran, 1873-1883: Robert Murdoch Smith and the Formation of the Modern Persian Carpet Industry,' *Muqarnas*, Vol. 7 (1990), 171-181. Guli Francis-Dehqani, 'CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884-1934,' in *The Church Mission Society, and World Christianity, 1799-1999*, ed. Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press Ltd, 2000), pp.91-119. Shireen Mahdavi, 'Shahs, Doctors, Diplomats and Missionaries in 19th Century Iran,' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (November 2005), 169-191. Jennifer Scarce, 'Entertainments East and West: Three Encounters between Iranians and Europeans during the Qajar Period (1786-1925),' *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4, (September 2007), 455-466.

[46] Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[47] Elton L. Daniel, 'The Hajji and Qajar Travel Literature,' pp.215-237. Hashem Rajabzadeh, 'Japan as seen by Qajar Travellers,' pp.285-309. Mohammad Tavakoli-Targhi, 'Eroticizing Europe,' pp.311-346. Anna Vanzan, 'Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Khan Sirazi Ilci's *Safar-nama ba Rusiya*: The Persians Amongst the Russians,' pp.347-57. All in *Society and Culture in Qajar Iran*, ed. Elton L. Daniel (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 2002).

[48] Elena Andreeva, *Russia and Iran in the Great Game: Travelogues and Orientalism* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2007).

[49] *Persia: through writers' eyes*, compiled and edited by David Blow (London: Eland, 2007).

[50] Eckart Ehlers, *Iran: ein bibliographischer Forschungsbericht: mit Kommentaren und Annotationen [a bibliographic research survey: with comments and annotations]* (München; New York: K.G. Saur; Detroit, Michigan: Distributed by Gale Research Co., 1980). Judith Lerner, *British Travellers' Accounts as a Source for Qajar Shiraz* (Teheran: Pahlavi University, 1976). L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *Bibliographical Guide to Iran: The Middle East Library Committee Guide* (Brighton: Harvester Press,

bibliography of travel accounts of the broader Middle East was also extremely helpful in the early stages of my research.[51] Denis Wright, British Ambassador to Iran 1963-71, produced a substantial body of work on the country, and Britain's relationship with Iran. His work is primarily historical in focus, rather than a literary study of travelogues.[52] Mansour Bonakdarian, an important historian of Iran, has also catalogued much of this research in his article 'Iranian Studies in the United Kingdom in the Twentieth Century.'[53] Firuz Kazemzadeh has also surveyed Anglo-Russian relations regarding Persia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[54] By making use of these bibliographies and histories, as well as the wide-ranging *Cambridge History of Iran* and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*,[55] this thesis has been able to catalogue and explore a substantial body of travel-writing on Persia, which shows a great intertextuality, and a rapid evolution in terms of form, content and expected readership. Furthermore, travelogues on Persia from 1890 to 1940 present varied political points of view. Youngs emphasises the need to uncover 'more and more travel writing' from the 'hoard from almost all periods that has been totally neglected… the more we uncover, the wider will be the range of political affiliations associated with travel writing.'[56] Such literary archaeology reveals the plurality of political attitudes towards Persia over this fraught period, both in terms of internal politics and Anglo-Persian relations. Between 1890 and 1950 Persia witnessed the assassination of a Shah, a Constitutional Revolution, the almost complete evaporation of its sovereignty during WWI, and the rise to power of Reza Khan, founder of the Pahlavi rule. Reza Shah undertook in the 1930s a number of reforms, including a request to the international community to refer to the country as Iran, as

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1983). See Geography and Topography, subsection 4, 'European Travel Accounts 13th-20th centuries', pp.144-159.

[51] Richard Bevis, *Bibliotheca Cisorientalia: An Annotated Checklist of Early English Travel Books on the Near and Middle East* (G.K. Hall & Co., Boston, Mass., 1973).

[52] Denis Wright, *The English Amongst the Persians: during the Qajar Period 1787-1921* (London: Heinemann, 1977); *The Persians Amongst the English: Episodes in Anglo-Persian history* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1985); 'Memsahibs in Persia' *Asian Affairs*, Vol. XIV (February 1983), 5-14; 'Curzon and Persia,' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 153, No. 3 (November 1987), 343-350; 'British Travellers in Qajar Persia and Their Books,' in *Society and Culture in Qajar Iran*, ed. Elton L. Daniel, pp.359-369. Sarah Searight, ed., *Britain and Iran 1790-1980: collected essays of Sir Denis Wright* (London: Iran Society, 2003).

[53] Mansour Bonakdarian, 'Iranian Studies in the United Kingdom in the Twentieth Century,' *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (April 2010), 265-293.

[54] Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864-1914: A study in imperialism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968).

[55] *The Cambridge History of Iran, 7 vol.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968-91). *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982). Henceforth *EI* in footnotes. All articles already printed and many more yet to be published in book format available online: http://www.iranicaonline.org/

[56] Hulme 16.

it had always been known internally, rather than Persia.[57] Having now outlined the theoretical approach of this thesis and its goals, I will now consider Persian history, revealing the texts through which Victorians were familiar with the country.

The Land of the Lion and the Sun: pre-nineteenth century Persian history

In order to understand how the Lion and the Sun – symbols of strength and of greatness – can be the fitting emblems of the Persian kingdom, we must go a long way back in the world's history.[58]

This quotation comes from a review of one of the many British travelogues which use "the land of the lion and the sun" as a synonym for Persia,[59] either as a reference to ancient Persian history, or merely a reference to the Qajar flag, which depicted a lion holding a sword, set against the rays of the sun.[60] This once popular synonym for the country reflected an interest in Persia's long history, and is an apt title for this thesis. The review quoted in the epigraph also offers an example of the dichotomy drawn between ancient Persian empires and the supposedly decrepit state of nineteenth-century Persia. The symbol has an astronomical background relating to

[57] The distinction was familiar to some if not all travellers. 'The word Iran is the classic Ariana, the land of the Arii, the capital of which is still Herat. Aryan is also the same word. *Cf.* Zand *airya*, Sans. *Drya*, and Lat. *arare*.' Percy Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Perisa; or, eight years in Iran*. In contrast, Persia stems from a south-western province of the country: 'classical Latin *Persia* , Hellenistic Greek *Περσίς* , Old Persian *Pārsa* (> Persian *Pārs*, Arabic *Fārs* (also *Fāris* , with assimilation to Arabic syllable structure) name of a province in south-western Iran.' http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/141452 Accessed 20 September, 2011.

There is a certain controversy about the appellations Iran and Persia in Western discourse. There is a tendency to use the term Persian to describe traditional cultural practices – for example, Persian music, Persian carpets, Persian poetry – and Iranian for modern cultural undertakings – for example, Iranian cinema. This thesis uses the term Persia because it was the term used by the travellers of the era.

[58] Anonymous, 'In the Land of the Lion and the Sun,' review of C. J. Wills' *Land of the Lion and the Sun*, in *The Month: A Catholic magazine and review*, Vol. XXX (December, 1883), 579-584.

[59] Examples include: Charles James Wills, *Land of the Lion and the Sun* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1883); J. Bleibtreu, *Persien: Das Land der Sonne und des Löwen* (Freiburg, 1894); Samuel Graham Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs. With scenes and incidents of residence and travel in the Land of the Lion and the Sun* (Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896); A. D. Shabaz, *Land of the Lion and the Sun* (Milwaukee, 1904); A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (New York: Macmillan, 1906), chapter 1, 'En Route for the Land of the Lion and the Sun'; E. Crawshay Williams, *Across Persia* (London: Edward Arnold, 1907), 'Before me lay Persia, the Land of the Lion and the Sun – though now the lion exists only in the fertile imagination of the Persian, albeit the sun rages as rampantly as ever…' (3); Auguste Bricteux, *Au pays du lion et du soleil* (Brussels, 1908); Edward Alexander Powell, *By Camel and Car to the Peacock Throne* (New York and London: The Century Co., 1923), chapter VII, 'Across the Land of the Lion and the Sun'; Nicolas Bouvier, *L'Usage du Monde* (Genva: Droz, 1963), trans. by Robyn Marsack, *The Way of the World* (1992; London: Eland, 2007) – see the section 'The Lion and the Sun.'

[60] Roger M. Savory, 'Land of the Lion and the Sun,' *The World of Islam: Faith, people, culture*, ed. Bernard Lewis (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), pp.245-272.

the spring equinox, and appeared at Persepolis.[61] As A. Shapur Shahbazi notes, the sun 'had always been associated with Persian royalty: "a crystal image of the sun" identified the royal tent of Darius III.' Similarly, the lion 'had a close association with Persian kingship: rows of lions passant ornamented the throne-covers and garments of the Achaemenian kings.'[62] By the time of the Safavids 'the lion and sun symbol had become… the recognized emblem of Persia' and appeared 'on copper coins, on banners, and on artworks.' As Shahbazi notes, from Mohammad Shah's reign onwards, the rampant lion (as opposed to earlier couchant depictions) was usually presented holding a sword. It was this form that appeared on the national flag until 1979, set against three bands of green, white and red, representing Islam, peace and courage respectively.[63] Under the Qajars a lion and sun image formed a 'high Persian decoration… which was usually given to Foreign Envoys on their presentation.'[64] A short story by Chekhov satirises the ease with which the decoration might be gained as well as Russo-Persian relations in the nineteenth century.[65] An embossed version of the image appears on the front cover of several travelogues on Persia from the era under study within this thesis.[66]

The ancient Achaemenid and Sasanian dynasties of Persia were primarily known to British writers through Greek historians, and the Bible. At its peak, R. Schmitt notes, the Zoroastrian Achaemenid Empire 'enclosed Iran proper, Mesopotamia, the Near East, Egypt, northwest India, and parts of Central Asia and it endured until overthrown by Alexander the Great.'[67] The names of its leaders, including Cyrus the Great (559-529 BCE), Darius the Great (522-486 BCE) and Xerxes I (486-465 BCE)

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[61] Willy Hartner, 'Old Iranian Calenders,' *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2, The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, ed. Ilya Gershevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.714-792, 738.

[62] A. Shapur Shahbazi, 'FLAGS i. Of Persia,' *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 1999, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/flags-i. Accessed 8 October 2011.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Arthur Hardinge writes that he was unable to receive the honour as a British diplomat, and learns besides that it is held by 'many panders and other venal and disreputable scoundrels'; nonetheless his wife is later happy to receive the decoration, a 'pretty jewel.' Arthur Hardinge, *A Diplomatist in the East* (London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1928), pp.269-70.

Sir John MacNeill, diplomatist in Persia initially with the East India Company, 'received permission to wear the Persian decoration of the Sun and Lion of the first class' in the 1830s. H. M. Chichester, 'McNeill, Sir John (1795–1883)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, October 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17714, accessed 26 September 2011]

[65] Anton Chekhov, 'The Lion and the Sun,' *Love and Other Stories* (Fairfield, Iowa: 1st World Library, 2006), pp.194-200.

[66] Samuel Wilson's *Persian Life and Customs* (1896); Sykes' *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle*; Clara Colliver Rice's *Persian Women and Their Ways* (London: Seeley Service & Co., 1923).

[67] R. Schmitt, 'Achaemenid Dynasty,' *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 1983, Last Updated: July 21, 2011, available at http://www.*iranica*online.org/articles/achaemenid-dynasty. Accessed 8 October 2011. This article is available in print. Vol. I, Fasc. 4, pp.414-426.

recur in British travelogues on Persia.[68] Schmitt highlights the relatively large understanding of the era given literary relics: 'the Achaemenid dynasty… is known particularly through the accounts of Greek authors, especially Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon (*Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*); the somewhat muddled tales of several Old Testament books; and native Iranian sources – the (usually trilingual) royal inscriptions, among them Darius' extremely important inscription at the rock of Bīsotūn.'[69] Furthermore, Plutarch wrote on 'the ceremony of the investiture of the Achaemenid kings… (*Artaxerxes* 3.1-2).'[70] Aeschylus fought in the battle of Marathon (490 BCE) against the Persians, and later composed a tragedy, *The Persians*, which draws on the Greco-Persian wars, and records the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis in 480 BCE.[71] Herodotus is considered by John Marincola to be 'the historian of Persia's wars with Greece' whose interest in the subject was 'due in part to his admiration for the extraordinary achievement by which a small and cantankerous group of city-states defeated not once but several times the might of the Persians, the most powerful empire that had existed up to that time.'[72] Xenophon draws on his own experiences in *The Anabasis of Cyrus*. He describes a group of 10,000 Greek mercenaries employed by Cyrus the Younger to overthrow his brother Artaxerxes, the legitimate king of Persia, and their journey home.[73] To men such as Curzon in particular, who studied Mods and Greats at Oxford, these representations of Persia would have been familiar.

Biblical references also filtered Victorian travellers' responses to Persia, and are a recurring trope in British travel-writing on Persia. There are, as Edwin Yamauchi notes, explicit references to 'Persia/Persians' in the Bible, specifically 'Ezekiel, 2 Chronicles, Esther, Daniel, and Ezra.' Moreover, 'ancient Persia played an important role in all the exilic and postexilic Old Testament books,' including in addition to those already mentioned Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.[74] Yamauchi's

[68] Appendix II, *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2*, 874.
[69] Schmitt.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Aaron Poochigian, 'Introduction,' *Persians, Seven against Thebes, and Suppliants* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2011), p.xii. See also A. R. Burn, 'Persia and the Greeks,' *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2*, pp.292-391.
[72] John Marincola, 'Introduction' to Herodotus, *The Histories* (London: Penguin, 2003).
[73] Wayne Ambler, 'Translator's Preface,' and Eric Buzzetti, 'Introduction: The Political Life and the Socratic Education,' in Xenophon, *The Anabasis of Cyrus* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008). Also known as *The Persian Expedition*, trans. Rex Warner (London: The Folio Society, 2009).
[74] Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1996), p.11.

book relates these biblical narratives to non-biblical narratives and surviving archaeological sites. Significant archaeological remains of the Achaemenid Empire include: the palace buildings at Susa and Persepolis; Pasargardae and Cyrus' tomb; and Naqsh-e Rustam, a necropolis near Persepolis.[75] Furthermore, Darius commissioned the Bīsotūn/Behistun relief, 'carved on a rock face high above the main road from Mesopotamia through the Zagros to Ecbatana' which 'commemorated the suppression of the revolts which ushered in Darius' reign.'[76] The destruction of Persepolis in the spring of 330 BCE at the hands of Alexander the Great is an event regularly referred to by travel-writers on Persia.[77]

The Sasanian rulers (in power from 'the early third century AD until the 630s') were Zoroastrians, as were the rulers of the later stages of the Achaemenid dynasty, but little British travel-writing on Persia refers to this religion.[78] Persia was instead imagined by British travellers in terms of its Shiite religion, even though this was a relatively late development in Persian Islam.[79] In the seventh-century the Sasanian dynasty in Persia was defeated 'at the Battles of Qadisaya (637) and Nihavand (642)' and 'incorporated into the rapidly expanding Islamic Empire.'[80] The developments of Shia and Sunni Islam are a topic too large for this introduction. It suffices to say that Shia Islam was adopted in Persia under the Safavids in the sixteenth century.

A branch of Shia Islam had earlier developed into Ismailism, and thence sprung the Assassins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[81] Marco Polo's description of these Assassins is profoundly influential for British travel-writing on Persia. Indeed his account of late-thirteenth-century Persia substantially impacts on Percy Sykes and Sven Hedin who retraced his steps.[82] Describing a once-flourishing land recently destroyed by the Tartars, Polo considers the indigenous horses and falcons, the silks, turquoise and gold available in Persia, the barren deserts, and the violence of the

[75] Schmitt.
[76] Ann Farkas, 'The Behistun Relief,' *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2*, pp.828-831.
[77] E. Badian, 'Alexander in Iran,' *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2*, pp.420-501.
[78] David Morgan, *Medieval Persia, 1040-1797* (London: Longman, 1988), pp.8-9.
[79] To many Victorian travellers, this branch of Islam was heretical and fanatical; as the discussion below regarding early-modern travellers to Persia makes clear, however, earlier travellers sometimes interpreted it as more admirable than Sunni Islam in its devotion to Ali.
[80] W. B. Bartlett, *Assassins: The story of medieval Islam's secret Sect* (2001; Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009), p.9.
[81] Bartlett, *Assassins*, 25.
[82] See Chapter 2 on Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*. Sven Hedin's *Overland to India* discusses Polo's probable route through the Salt Desert (London: Macmillan & Co., 1910).

country.[83] Using the accounts of 'sundry persons,' Polo described the luxurious garden in which assassins were entertained by 'elegant and beautiful damsels, accomplished in the arts of singing, playing upon all sorts of musical instruments, dancing, and especially those of dalliance and amorous allurement.' By creating this paradisiacal world, the Old Man of the Mountain intended to show that 'he also was a prophet and the compeer of Mahomet, and had the power of admitting to Paradise such as he should choose to favour,' and thus ensure absolute obedience and loyalty.[84] Polo refers to the opium with which the young men were supposedly drugged, but later commentators including Bartlett consider the term '*hashishiyyun*' (hashish takers) to have been 'a derogatory term… not meant to be taken literally… applied by Muslims to those that they regarded as moral reprobates.'[85] A new edition of Polo's journeys with notes was published in 1871 by the geographer Sir Henry Yule.[86] It is clear that Marco Polo's records of Persia were available to late-Victorian British audiences, and that his combination of exotic legend and descriptions of challenging travel were replicated by later travellers. Polo's travels record the destruction of much of Persia under the Tartars, which began in the early thirteenth century. The devastation of Nishapur (in the north east of modern Iran) by the Mongols in 1221, and other cities thereafter, 'was absolute.'[87] Genghis' grandson Hülegü Khan succeeded in destroying Alamut in 1256, the best protected of the Assassin fortresses, and ordered a massacre: 'the movement to all intents and purposes died.'[88] Nearly seven-hundred years later, Freya Stark wrote of her search for Alamut and *The Valleys of the Assassins*.

In the mid-fourteenth century the Mongol Ilkhanate began to disintegrate, and the region was shortly overwhelmed by Timur or Tamerlane, who devastated Mazandaran in 1382 as the Mongols had previously.[89] In 1388 he overran Isfahan, and some two hundred years later his life was reimagined by playwright Christopher

[83] Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. and rev. from William Marsden's translation by Manuel Komroff (New York: The Modern Library, 2001), pp.33-8.
[84] Polo 46-7.
[85] Bartlett, 'Prologue,' in *Assassins*, x.
[86] Marco Polo, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East*, translated and edited, with notes, by Henry Yule (London: John Murray, 1871).
[87] W.B. Bartlett, *The Mongols: from Genghis Khan to Tamerlane* (Stroud: Amberley, 2009), p.68.
[88] Bartlett, *Mongols*, 147-9.
[89] Bartlett, *Mongols*, 241. Ibn Battuta travelled through Persia during the mid-fourteenth century, and various translations of his writings were available to Victorian travellers and travel-writing readers, including *The travels of Ibn Batuta, translated from the abridged Arabic manuscript copies, preserved in the Public Library of Cambridge, with notes, illustrative of the history, geography, botany, antiquities, &c occuring throughout the work by the Rev Samuel Lee* (London: J. Murray, 1829).

Marlowe.[90] Marlowe's depiction of Persia in *Tamburlaine the Great* is a familiar one, echoed by travellers to Qajar Iran: 'Unhappy Persia, that in former age / Hast been the seat of mighty conquerors…'[91] Under Mycetes, however, 'our neighbours, that were wont to quake / And tremble at the Persian monarch's name, / Now sit and laugh our regiment to scorn.'[92] Evident in this late sixteenth-century play is the recurring trope of a weak Persia, rife with interfamilial rivalry and rebellious noblemen, and vulnerable to invasion. The Timurid rule, according to Morgan, was never wholly secure, and it effectively ended at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[93]

The Shiite Safavid dynasty, which ruled from 1501 to 1722, marked a resurgence in Persian fortunes. Morgan argues the Safavid's 'most distinctive foundation was its new official faith, the Twelver variety of Shi'ism, whose adherents accept a line of twelve infallible *imams*, beginning with 'Ali and ending with Muhammad al-Mahdi, who disappeared (but did not die) in about 878 and whose return the faithful expect.'[94] The Safavid leader Shah Isma'il 'imposed [Shi'ism] at the point of the sword.'[95] Shah Abbas I (reign 1587-1629) is the best remembered of the Safavid rulers, particularly for his renovations of Isfahan. During the Safavid era, Anglo-Persian relations first flourished on both diplomatic and commercial footings, and this development was met with a wealth of travel-writing on Persia. The Huguenot Jean Chardin travelled to Persia as a jewel merchant, and lived in Isfahan intermittently in the 1660s and 1670s.[96] His account is 'the fullest of all accounts of Safawid [sic] Persia – it fills ten volumes in the standard edition.'[97]

British travellers to Persia in the early modern period included the Sherley brothers, whose combined travelogue was published in 1607.[98] Sir Anthony Sherley's specific

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[90] Bartlett, *Mongols*, 244.
[91] Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* 1.1.6-7, from *Tamburlaine, parts I and II; Doctor Faustus, A- and B-texts; The Jew of Malta; Edward* II, eds. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Oxford: OUP, 2008).
[92] *Tamburlaine* 1.1.115-17.
[93] Morgan 94, 98.
[94] Ibid 120.
[95] Ibid 121.
[96] A substantial nineteenth-century edition: Sir John Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient, enrichis d'un grand nombre de belles figures en taille-douce, représentant les antiquités et les choses remarquables du pays, 10 vol.* (Paris: Le Normant, imprimeur-libraire, 1811).
[97] Morgan 140.
[98] *The three English brothers, Sir T. Sherley his Travels, Sir A. Sherley his Embassage to the Christian Princes. Master R. Sherley his wars against the Turkes, with his marriage to the Emperour of Persia*

experiences also appeared in 1613.[99] Anthony Parr has explored the development of the Renaissance 'travel play.'[100] He notes *The Travels of The Three English Brothers*, written by '[John] Day, [William] Rowley and [George] Wilkins, and acted in 1607' for which Anthony Nixon's 'pamphlet about the Sherleys was the principal source.' Parr argues that *Travels* 'undertakes to portray diplomatic activity and cultural contact between England and both Catholic and non-European powers in a way that was impossible as long as the foreign was simply demonised or caricatured on the stage.'[101] Parr emphasises the appeal of Persia to early-modern British audiences as 'the land of wealth and luxury.' Moreover, 'the long-cherished design of a league between Persia and Christian Europe, something which had been talked about for over three hundred years, was fed by more substantial ideas.'[102] Parr notes that 'the writers of *Travels*… make use of pre-Islamic descriptions of Persian society… but they also draw on first-hand travel-accounts and do not avoid the tricky question of how a *rapprochement* between Christianity and Shia Islam is to be achieved.'[103] Persia 'is shown neither as a primitive society nor as a luxurious and hedonistic one,' and has 'political dignity and standards of honour.'[104] Jonathan Burton has similarly explored 'the remarkable archive of Shirleiana.'[105] As the Sherley brothers' experiences were republished sporadically, so was Richard Hakluyt's compendium of *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation, made by sea or overland at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres*.[106] Vol. 2 of the work includes descriptions of the Persian journeys of Anthony Jenkinson and other Muscovy Co. merchants. Jenkinson's writings 'document England's earliest concerted efforts to establish

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his Neece (London: J. Hodgets, 1607). Republished: Anthony Sherley, *The Three Brothers; or, The travels and adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert & Sir Thomas Sherley, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, etc.* (London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1825).

[99] Anthony Sherley, *Sir Antony Sherley his relation of his travels into Persia. The dangers, and Distresses, which befell him in his passage, both by sea and land. Also, a true relation of the great magnificence, valour, prudence, justice, temperance of Abas, now King of Persia, with his great Conquests. Penned by Sr A. Sherley, and recommended to his brother Sr Robert Shirley, being now in prosecution of the like honourable imployment* (London : N. Butter & J. Bagfet, 1613).

[100] Anthony Parr, 'Introduction,' *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p.4.

[101] Parr 5-6.

[102] Ibid 11.

[103] Ibid 11-2.

[104] Ibid 17.

[105] Jonathan Burton, 'The Shah's Two Ambassadors: *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* and the Global Early Modern,' *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, transmission, traffic, 1550-1700*, ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), pp.23-40.

[106] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation, made by sea or overland at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres. 3 vol.* London: G. Bishop, R. Newberie and R. Barker, 1598-1600.

commercial relations with Safavid Persia' and his map was particularly significant.[107] John Fryer and Sir Thomas Herbert also published on their experiences in Persia.[108]

Much academic attention is now focused on this early-modern Anglo-Persian interaction, notably a 2010 London Renaissance Seminar entitled 'Persia in the Early Modern Period: "Chiefe of Empires"?'[109] This seminar highlighted the ways in which early-modern England wrote on Persia deploying various discourses, much as British travel-writing on Persia from 1890-1940 embraced a wide range of styles. Other studies of early-modern representations of Persia include Chloë Houston's 2009 article on Persia in early seventeenth-century travel literature.[110] The Institute of Iranian Studies at St. Andrews has held conferences which engage with many areas of research on Iran, including one in September 2009 on 'Historiography & Iran in Comparative Perspective.' Speakers on the early-modern European experience of Persia included Abid Masood on 'Renaissance Humanism, Classical Persia and 16th Century English Drama,' and Elisa Sabadini on 'From reign of freedom to land of oppression: 17th century Persia through Italian eyes.'[111] Nedda Mehdizadeh at George Washington University is currently working on a doctoral thesis entitled 'Translating Persia: Safavid Iran and Early Modern English Writing.' Her project 'attempts to explore a… reciprocal interaction between the East and the West by focusing on the Anglo-Persian encounter. In other words, it is less about how Persia "speaks back" to England, and more about how Persia and England speak to each other.' Alongside the Shirleys and the play on them, her thesis may explore the works of Thomas Coryate, John Fryer, Thomas Herbert, John Cartwright and

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[107] Stephan Schmuck, 'Jenkinson, Anthony,' *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 2008, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jenkinson-anthony. Accessed 8 October 2011.
[108] John Fryer, *A new Account of East-India and Persia, in eight letters: being nine years Travels begun 1672, and finished 1681* (London: R. R. for R. Chiswell, 1698). Sir Thomas Herbert, *A relation of some yeares travaile, begunne anno 1626, into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially the territories of the Persian monarchie and some parts of the Orientall Indies, and iles adiacent: of their religion, language, habit, discent: together with the proceedings and death of the three late ambassadours: as also the two great monarchs, the King of Persia and the Great Mogol* (London: William Stansby and Jacob Bloome, 1634).
[109] See http://renaissance-events.blogspot.co.uk/2010/10/persia-in-early-modern-period-chiefe-of.html, accessed 4 April 2012. Abid Masood, 'Re-emergence of Persian Islamic Identity in Late-Elizabethan England'; Jane Brogan '"Warres commodious": Tamburlaine's Persia'; and Kate Arthur, 'Models of Kingship in Persian Drama.' Arthur's texts included *The Warres of Cyrus King of Persia, against Antiochus King of Assyria, with the Tragicall ende of Panthæa, etc*; *The Royal Slave* by William Cartwright; *Cambyses* by Thomas Preston; *The Warres of Cyrus*; and John Crown's *Darius of Persia: A tragedy*.
[110] Chloë Houston, '"Thou glorious kingdome, thou chiefe of Empires": Persia in early seventeenth-century travel literature,' *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13:2, (2009), 141-152.
[111] 'Historiography & Iran in Comparative Perspective,' Institute of Iranian Studies, University of St Andrews / Iran Heritage Foundation, 10-13th September 2009, http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~iranian/conference.html, accessed 4 April 2012.

Anthony Jenkinson.[112] Finally, the Safavid period has been the subject of a number of museum exhibitions, especially the reign of Shah Abbas.[113]

The Victorians and Persia: The Great Game

The accession of Fath Ali Shah in 1797 established Qajar rule, which endured until the coup by Reza Khan in the 1920s.[114] Anglo-Persian relations in the nineteenth century fluctuated wildly, as British eyes viewed the country through the lens of the Great Game and the security of India.[115] Popular studies of nineteenth-century Anglo-Persian relations tend to focus on Naser al-Din Shah's visits to Europe, Edward Fitzgerald's translations of Omar Khayyam and James Morier's *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*.[116] Unlike these constructive and convivial interactions, Kazemzadeh emphasizes 'the fluctuation in the degree of British interest in Iran and willingness to be consistently concerned.'[117] According to Kazemzadeh, India was the primary influencing factor in Britain's view of Persia:

> …from Napoleon's time until the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 Iran mattered to Britain primarily because of its proximity to India. The inconsistencies prevailing in British attitudes towards both India and Russia affected policy towards Iran. There was first the controversy between masterly inactivity and mischievous activity: between a stationary or an active frontier policy. Then there was the complicated character of the relationship between England and India.[118]

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[112] Email correspondence with Nedda Mehdizadeh.

[113] Elio Brancaforte, and Sonja Brentjes, 'From Rhubarb to Rubies: European Travels to Safavid Iran (1550-1700)'; 'The Lands of the Sophi: Iran in Early Modern European Maps (1550-1700)', *Iranian Studies*, 41: 4, (2008) 595-600. 'Europeans adored Persian textiles, carpets, drugs, and colors, while Iranians sought to acquire European guns, loved Renaissance paintings, and abhorred European shoes.' 596. 'The variety of objects, and layers of representation… invite the visitors' attention and tell them that in the early modern periods in both Europe and Iran gazed at each other in curiosity and with avid interest.' 597.

'Shah 'Abbas: The Remaking of Iran,' exhibition at the British Museum, London, 19th February-14th June 2009. *Shah 'Abbas and the remaking of Iran*, ed. Sheila Canby (London : British Museum, 2009).

[114] Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 157-8.

[115] Edmund Bosworth, and Carole Hillenbrand, eds., *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change, 1800-1925* (London: Edinburgh University Press, 1983). Elton L. Daniel, ed., *Society and Culture in Qajar Iran: Studies in honor [sic] of Hafez Farmayan* (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2002). Roxane Farmanfarmaian, ed., *War and Peace in Qajar Persia: Implications past and present* (London & New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2008). Ann Lambton, *Qajar Persia: Eleven Studies* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1988). Shoko Okazaki and Kinji Eura, *Bibliography on Qajar Persia* (Osaka, Japan: Osaka University of Foreign Studies, 1985). Denis Wright, *The English Amongst the Persians during the Qajar Period, 1787-1921* (London: Heinemann, 1977).

[116] Marzieh Gail, *Persia and the Victorians* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1951).

[117] F. Kazemzadeh, 'Iranian Relations with Great Britain and British India, 1798-1921,' *Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 7, From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, pp.374-425, 388.

[118] Kazemzadeh 423.

Peter Hopkirk argues that 'not everyone was convinced that the Russians intended to try and wrest India from Britain's grasp, or that they were militarily capable of doing so.'[119] Curzon's Russophobia and Perso-centric concerns were not universally accepted. Some believed that India's 'unique geographical setting' provided such strong defences that any Russian force that reached India 'would be so weakened by then that it would be no match for a waiting British army.'[120] They therefore argued it was 'more sensible to force an invader to overextend his lines of communication than for the British to stretch theirs.' This policy was known as 'the "backward" or "masterly inactivity" school.'[121] Nikki Keddie and Mehrdad Amanat argue that 'a fuller acquaintance with Persian and Russian sources' disproves the conclusion that 'British intentions in Iran were reformist and benevolent.' Instead, 'Britain desired those reforms that would facilitate trade and the security of foreigners and those connected with them in Iran.'[122]

Early British overtures to Qajar Persia were motivated by a perceived French rather than Russian threat: Napoleon viewed the country with interest.[123] Lord Minto resolved therefore to send John Malcolm to Tehran from India in 1808; at the same time 'the authorities in London had appointed Sir Harford Jones as their envoy to Iran.'[124] This conflict between London-based and India-based British authorities with regards to Persia continued for years. James Morier accompanied the Jones mission, and like others including Malcolm and his *History of Persia*, Morier's account of Persia sold well.[125] Jones succeeded in concluding a new treaty with the Shah in 1809, by which Persia:

> …cancelled other treaties with European powers, and agreed to oppose any European force attempting to pass through Iranian territory to India. Britain undertook to give financial and military assistance, should a European power attack Iran, mediating initially if Britain was at peace with that Power, but thereafter rendering Iran military aid if such mediation failed. In case of war between Iran and

[119] Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 2006), p.6.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of Ella Sykes' and Mary Kingsley's use of the phrase in relation to their servants.
[122] Nikki Keddie and Mehrdad Amanat, 'Iran under the later Qājārs, 1848-1922', in *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.174-212, 180.
[123] Kazemzadeh 381.
[124] Ibid 383.
[125] Ibid 384.

> Afghanistan, Britain would not intervene unless both parties requested mediation.[126]

Meanwhile Russia had demonstrated 'perennial…preoccupation' with Persia, unlike Britain's 'fluctuating preoccupation.'[127] Russia and Persia were at war from 1826-8 which resulted in the 'Treaty of Turkmanchai' which 'deprived Iran of further territory in addition to that already lost, imposed upon it a large indemnity, and affirmed Russia's exclusive rights in the Caspian.'[128] Kazemzadeh notes that 'Britain had not provided the support the Shah had expected, but British officers had taken part in the war and the British representative had tried to ease the peace terms.'[129] By the mid-nineteenth century, therefore, 'the Iranians felt the futility of resistance to Russia, and… were thoroughly disheartened by Britain's inability or unwillingness to help them.'[130]

The relationship between Britain and Iran deteriorated further, resulting in the Anglo-Persian War of 1856-7, triggered amongst other things by the Persian siege of Herat.[131] The war was controversial: it 'did not have full cabinet support in England, and was not viewed enthusiastically in India where many believed in the principles of "masterly inactivity", mindful of what had happened in Afghanistan.'[132] Persia 'sued for peace, and by the treaty concluded in Paris in 1857 the Shah agreed to evacuate Herat and to recognize the independence of Afghanistan.'[133] As the staunch imperialist Percy Sykes later commented, 'Persians were amazed at British magnanimity. The result justified the course adopted, as British relations were permanently improved.'[134]

In the mid-nineteenth century, one of the most significant Britons in Persia was Henry Rawlinson, whose career demonstrates a fusion of antiquarian study and contemporary politics. Rawlinson was one of a field of linguists who in the mid-nineteenth century unlocked the various cuneiform inscriptions of Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite and old Persian, which shed light on the histories of Mesopotamia

[126] Ibid 384.
[127] Ibid 386.
[128] Ibid 389.
[129] Ibid 389.
[130] Ibid 390.
[131] Ibid 394.
[132] Ibid 394.
[133] Percy Sykes, *Persia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922) p.132.
[134] Ibid.

and Persia in the millennia BCE. Rawlinson's most significant contribution was his transcription of Darius' inscriptions at Bisitun during his secondment there from the British army in India.[135] Furthermore, Rawlinson's career touched on key incidents of the Great Game: he intended to accompany Captain Arthur Conolly into Central Asia, but a Russian retreat meant that the size of the British mission was reduced, and Conolly travelled without Rawlinson. Conolly's execution with Colonel Charles Stoddart in Bokhara at the hands of the Emir 'sent a wave of horror' through Britain in 1842.[136] In the same year Rawlinson fought at Kandahar in Afghanistan, during the first Anglo-Afghan War.[137] In Baghdad, where he was consul from April 1844, Rawlinson lived in what had been the East India Company's Residency since 1818, thus linking his career with the British Empire in India.[138] In 1859 Rawlinson was appointed Envoy to Persia, and was greeted warmly by the Shah in Teheran.[139] In 1860 the position was transferred from the auspices of the India Office back to the Foreign Office after just thirteen months. Rawlinson resigned as he believed the change altered too greatly his function and freedoms.[140] He believed that 'Persian and Afghan affairs, as they related to Indian defence, "must be organised in India and executed from India".'[141] This tussle between London and India over British diplomacy in Persia echoes Malcolm and Jones' competing missions in 1808.

Rawlinson offers a rare, possibly singular documented example, of a relationship between a British man and a Persian woman. His biographer notes that in Kermanshah in 1826 he wrote in his diary that 'a female companion (certainly a local woman) "enlivens my solitude, and I have never yet even put it to myself whether such a connection is criminal or not".'[142] Such a connection was almost certainly unknown to his son whose war memoir is discussed in Chapter 4. By 1848 Rawlinson was too well-known to engage in such a relationship.[143] Alongside his cuneiform translations and diplomatic work, Rawlinson's career points to the widespread collecting of Persian artefacts in the nineteenth century. Upon his return to England in the late 1840s for his first leave since he left for India aged seventeen,

[135] Lesley Adkins, *Empires of the Plain: Henry Rawlinson and the lost languages of Babylon* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004).
[136] Hopkirk 270.
[137] Adkins 109.
[138] Ibid 134-5.
[139] Ibid 342.
[140] Ibid 343. Kazemzadeh 395.
[141] Kazemzadeh 395.
[142] Adkins 84. Footnote: RGS Archives: Journal for 1831.
[143] Ibid 258.

Rawlinson proposed selling his collection of 'small objects such as cylinder seals that had been collected during his two decades away' to the British Museum, 'a not uncommon practice with diplomats at that time.'[144]

Alongside these investigations of early Persian history, steps were undertaken to modernise the infrastructure of Qajar Persia, particularly through telegraph lines, built from the late 1850s. Keddie and Amanat note that: 'Since the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the British felt the need for telegraphic communication with India' and sought 'a concession for a line which… would go through Iran to the Persian Gulf and thence by cable to India.'[145] The first concession was granted in 1862 to the 'Indo-European Telegraph Company, a British concern'; the line ran 'from Khanaqin through Tehran, Isfahan, and Shiraz, to connect at Bushire with the Persian Gulf submarine-cable, which joined the Turkish and Indian telegraph lines.'[146] The network soon expanded throughout Persia. Thus the telegraph aided not only London-India communications, but also the Shah and the increasingly centralized government: 'The Shah could now know immediately what was occurring in the provinces, and issue orders regarding rebellion or sedition. On the other hand, the opposition found the telegraph a useful tool in co-ordinating their movements in 1891-2 and again in 1905-11.'[147]

The telegraph concession was one of many which impacted upon Anglo-Persian relations. The most notorious of these was the Reuter concession of 1872, granted to Julius de Reuter, the news agency founder and strong supporter of the British Empire.[148] As Keddie and Amanat emphasise, the 'sweeping Reuter Concession, which even an imperialist like Curzon later characterized as the most complete grant ever made of control over its resources by any country to a foreigner [Curzon, *Persia*, I., p. 480], is… without historical parallel.'[149] The 'key point' of the concession was the construction of a railway from the Caspian ports south, but it also included: 'total rights for all factories, minerals (except those then being exploited), irrigation works, agricultural improvements, and virtually any form of modernized

[144] Ibid 285.
[145] Keddie and Amanat 183-4.
[146] Kazemzadeh 400.
[147] Keddie and Amanat 183-4.
[148] Charles Wintour, M. Clare Loughlin-Chow, 'Reuter, (Paul) Julius de , Baron de Reuter in the nobility of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1816–1899)', rev. M. Clare Loughlin-Chow, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37890, accessed 24 September 2011]
[149] Keddie and Amanat 189.

enterprise that might be undertaken in Iran.'[150] As Kazemzadeh concludes, the Reuter Concession 'represented an attempt by Iranian reformers to involve Europeans directly in the country's internal development on a massive scale.'[151] Russian resistance to the concession was clear during the Shah's 1873 trip through Russia and Europe, and some Britons expressed doubts too: 'British Foreign Office officials were inclined to despise Reuter as a foreigner and a Jew, and doubted the wisdom of a concession so calculated to arouse Russian hostility.' Therefore, 'without British government support and in the face of Russia's hostility, private British financial backing, which was needed for significant economic projects to be carried out, also fell away.'[152] On this trip in 1873 the Shah received the Order of the Garter from Queen Victoria, but on his return cancelled the Reuter concession.[153] He visited Europe again in 1878 and 1889, resulting in the popular catchphrase, "Have you seen the Shah?"[154]

In the late 1880s, Britain focussed on economic concessions, as 'energetically advocated' by Henry Drummond Wolff, British Minister in Tehran from 1888-90.[155] After a lengthy career in the diplomatic service Wolff was considered 'to have "great talent in Oriental diplomacy".'[156] The 'mainspring' of Wolff's policy according to Kazemzadeh was 'that Iran… formed an essential outwork for India, and the implementation of that policy was to be through reform in a land which in the 1890s was no shining example of progressive achievement in government, administration, or technological advance.'[157] Wolff's ambition was to ensure Persia was 'strong enough to resist Russian incursions' and 'increase Western European commitment to

[150] Ibid.
[151] Kazemzadeh 400.
[152] Keddie and Amanat 189.
[153] During this first visit '…the Shah… told Victoria he had caused her book on Scotland to be translated into Persian.' Gail 8-9. Henry Rawlinson translated for the Shah on both his 1873 and 1889 trips to England. R. W. Ferrier, Stephanie Dalley, 'Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke, first baronet (1810–1895)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23190, accessed 12 October 2011]
[154] 'One of the peculiarities of the late Victorian era was the prevalence of catchwords. Phrases take from topical events or music-hall songs, and often with no intelligible origin, were repeated *ad nauseam*, and were greeted with loud laughter as worthy indications of exceptional wit. Possibly the first of these catchwords was "Have you seen the Shah?"' Gail 9-10, fn: Posonby, *Sidelights on Queen Victoria, 2nd series, II*, pp.160, 174.'
[155] Martin Pugh, 'Wolff, Sir Henry Drummond Charles (1830–1908)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36990, accessed 14 October 2011]
[156] Kazemzadeh 407. Fn.: 'For Wolff's instructions see FO60/491. Reproduced in Greaves, *Persia and the Defence of India*, appendix 4.'
[157] Kazemzadeh 406.

Iran's future.'[158] His achievements included 'the opening of the Kārūn river to navigation (the Lynch brothers who navigated it got a government subsidy)' in October 1888.[159] The Lynch brothers ran a substantial shipping company which had previously operated in Mesopotamia.[160] The opening of the river and its 'geographical, political [and] commercial' aspects were the subject of a paper by Curzon given to the Royal Geographical Society in 1890, which cited the achievements of his predecessors in Persia, including Rawlinson and Layard.[161]

Nasir al-Din Shah was assassinated in 1896, and as Kazemzadeh writes: 'Deterioration rather than advance characterized the later years of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign.'[162] Keddie and Amanat conclude: 'His interest in reform was sporadic at best… He left no legacy of a state or army machinery that might weather the eventuality he must have known was coming – the rule of a weak and sickly successor.'[163] These twentieth-century interpretations of the Shah echo nineteenth-century representations of the degeneracy of the country, which Chris Bayly has explored. Bayly states that a 'great theme of British historians of Persia' between 1850 and 1950 was 'the malformation, and hoped for redemption, of the state. The trope of decay and decline of civil society was almost universal, though liberals tended to indict malign foreign influence as well as Persian corruption.' Certainly Curzon's work emphasises the need for reform, and hopes for the redemption of Persia were raised by the Constitutional Revolution of the first decade of the twentieth century. Bayly argues that the 'main lines of the argument had been set as early as 1815 by Sir John Malcolm, who had transposed many of the categories of his history of India to Persia... In Malcolm's version, the failures of tyranny and religious fanaticism tended to unleash the tribal predator into Persian cities on a cyclical basis.'[164] Cyclical interpretations of Persian history were not limited to western visitors, as Kathryn Babayan's interpretation of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* in the next section makes clear. One certainly sees Percy Sykes' history of Persia

[158] Keddie and Amanat 191.
[159] Ibid 181.
[160] Relations 408. Christopher N. B. Ross, 'Lynch, Henry Finnis Blosse (1862–1913)', *ODNB*, OUP, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/100992, accessed 14 October 2011]
[161] George Curzon, 'The Karun River and the Commercial Geography of South-West Persia,' *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 12, No. 9 (Sep., 1890), 509-532.
[162] Kazemzadeh 408.
[163] Keddie and Amanat 198.
[164] Christopher Bayly, 'The Orient: British historical writing about Asia since 1890,' *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century*, ed. P. Burke (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p.95.

replicate this vision in a text which Bayly calls 'a simple picture of corrupt and lascivious dynasties falling periodic prey to hard men from the deserts and mountains.'[165] Moreover Bayly suggests Malcolm's influence on Curzon, suggesting Curzon 'merely revised Malcolm in his very influential *Persia and the Persian Question* of 1892' in terms of cyclical Persian history and Malcolm's 'categories of human geography in Persia: the northern mountains, the desert east, the Arab littoral and the central plains.'[166]

Alongside these political and historical conceptualisations of Persia, Victorians encountered increasing numbers of visual representations of the country. Robert Ker Porter was one of the earliest famous painters to sketch in Persia, and published a travelogue in 1821 which 'was illustrated by bold drawings of mountain scenery, of works of art, and of antiquities.'[167] Examples are provided below of works by Ker Porter, who received in 1819 the order of the Lion and the Sun; William Pierson who worked on the Persian telegraph and designed the new British Legation; and the French artist and archaeologist Eugène-Napoléon Flandin, whose work *Voyage en Perse* (1843) is cited by Curzon.[168]

[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c. during the years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820. 2 vol.* (London: Longman, 1821-2). Thomas Seccombe, 'Porter, Sir Robert Ker (1777–1842)', rev. Raymond Lister, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, October 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22577, accessed 7 October 2011]
[168] R. H. Vetch, 'Pierson, William Henry (1839–1881)', rev. James Lunt, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22240, accessed 10 May 2010]. Eugène Flandin, and Pascal Coste, *Voyage en Perse: pendant les années 1840 et 1841, entrepris par ordre de M. le ministre des affaires étrangères, d'après les instructions dressées par l'institut* (Paris: 1843-54).

Figure 1 - Robert Ker Porter: Ispahan, from the Ali Copi Gate, looking into the Great Maidan. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London[169]

Figure 2 - William Pierson: Administering the Felek or bastinado in Persia 1864-74. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London[170]

[169] Robert Ker Porter, *Ispahan, from the Ali Copi Gate, looking into the Great Maidan*, Museum number: SD.816. Prints & Drawings Study Room, level D, case 86, shelf SC, box 30, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. All images available on the V&A Museum website: http://images.vam.ac.uk/

[170] William Henry Pierson, *Administering the Felek or bastinado in Persia*; Museum Number:

Figure 3 - Eugène Flandin: Meidan-i-Chah ou Place Royale, Ispahan 1841. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London[171]

The nineteenth century also witnessed archaeological digs which uncovered Persian and associated Assyrian art and architecture.[172] The Great Exhibition of 1851 contained 'The Nineveh Court' designed by Austen Henry Layard, an archaeologist who had lived in Persia from 1840 for two years, and then began a series of excavation in what is now Iraq.[173] Layard and Rawlinson were close collaborators. The Nineveh Court was 'not a complete restoration of any particular Assyrian building'; more a creative amalgamation in order 'to convey to the spectator as exact an idea as possible of Assyrian architecture.'[174] In the Nineveh Court spectators were also greeted by replicas of the bulls and columns from the Persian site Persepolis,

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SD.806; Location: Prints & Drawings Study Room, level D, case 86, shelf SC, box 28; Victoria and Albert Museum London.

[171] Eugène Flandin, *Meidan-i-Chah ou Place Royale, Ispahan 1841*; Museum Number SD.382; Location Prints & Drawings Study Room, level D, case 89, shelf SCX, box 6; Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[172] The Assyrian Empire was one of a series of ancient empires of the Middle East, whose capital was Nineveh, modern day Iraq. The Sassanian Empire (224-651) was based in Persia, and its art was also a focus for nineteenth-century archaeologists.

[173] Sir Austen Henry Layard, *Early adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia, including a residence among the Bakhtiyari and other wild tribes before the discovery of Nineveh* (London: John Murray, 1894).

Jonathan Parry, 'Layard, Sir Austen Henry (1817–1894)', *ODNB*, OUP, September 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16218, accessed 11 May 2010].

[174] Austen Henry Layard, *The Nineveh Court in the Crystal Palace* (London: Crystal Palace Library and Bradbury & Evans, 1854), p.52.

capital of the Achaemenid dynasty.[175] The Dieulafoy couple were significant French archaeologists in Persia, who explored Susa, Persepolis and Fars in the 1880s: Marcel-Auguste published the five-volume work *L'art antique de la Perse* (1884-9). The pair are often mentioned in British travelogues on Persia; in *Passenger to Teheran* Vita Sackville-West imagines Jane's experiences.[176] Jennifer Scarce has also considered the responses to Persian art and archaeological sites of various figures including Morier and Curzon.[177]

A contemporaneous increasing international interest in Islamic art, and in particular Persian *objet-d'art*, is well documented. Stephen Vernoit has explored the connection between Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau's racial theories and the appreciation of Persian artistry. Gobineau in *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853-5) argued that Indo-Europeans were superior to Semites, and, Vernoit suggests, as 'the Persian race was considered Indo-European or Aryan, the view that Persia had been the principal source of artistic inspiration in the Muslim world soon became widely accepted.'[178] Gobineau also wrote a two volume *Histoire des Perses*.[179] Among the 'collectors and museum agents' who sought Persian goods, Vernoit considers Robert Murdoch Smith to be 'the most prominent.' Murdoch Smith was employed from 1863 on the Indo-European Telegraph in Persia, and 'was appointed director of the Iranian section, based in Tehran, in 1865.'[180] In 1873 he 'offered his services to the South Kensington Museum.'[181] His work enabled the Museum, now the Victoria and Albert Museum, 'to build up a substantial collection of Iranian art.'[182] The Sykes siblings' travelogues make clear their contributions to the same Museum, showing how interconnected art, travel, travel-writing and collecting were. The acquisition of cultural artefacts was not without controversy, as Vernoit notes: 'Several years of drought and famine in Iran, which may have culminated in as many as two million

[175] Layard v.
[176] Pierre Amiet, 'Dieulafoy, Marcel-Auguste,' *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 1995, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dieulafoy-2. Accessed 14 October 2011. Jean Calmard, 'Dieulafoy, Jane Henriette Magre,' *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 1995, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dieulafoy-1. Accessed 14 October 2011.
[177] Jennifer Scarce, 'Persian Art through the Eyes of Nineteenth-Century British Travellers,' *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1981), 38-50.
[178] Stephen Vernoit, 'Islamic Art and Architecture: An overview of scholarship and collecting, c. 1850-1950,' from *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850-1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), pp.1-61, 6.
[179] Arthur Gobineau, *Histoire des Perses*, *d'après les auteurs orientaux, grecs et latins et particulièrement d'après les manuscrits orientaux inédits, etc.* (Paris, 1869).
[180] Vernoit 11.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.

deaths in 1871-2, exacerbated the situation. The traveller and collector Henri Moser (1844-1923) later indicated that the famine in Iran brought about the exodus of carpets.'[183] Alongside carpets, 'ceramics, metalwork, "lacquer" (i.e., painted and varnished items), textiles, paintings and manuscripts' were extremely popular.[184]

Persian and Islamic artefacts were first widely viewed at the international exhibitions.[185] One example was 'the Exposition Universelle of 1867… in Paris,' in which Persia participated.[186] The popularity of these international exhibitions encouraged an increasing specialization of content, including 'the Exhibition of Persian Art held in 1876 at the South Kensington Museum in London.'[187] Murdoch Smith's *Persian Art* was written to accompany the exhibition, which highlighted the Museum's new collections.[188] In contrast, an 1885 exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club presented works owned by private collectors.[189] In 1907 another exhibition was held at the Burlington, this time 'of the Faience of Persia and the Nearer East.' The introduction to this exhibition underscores the value of the collection saying that 'it is hardly possible for amateurs in any other than our own country to bring together so superb a series of these Oriental wares as the gallery now contains.'[190] The curator also points to the international rivalry over Persian excavations, deploring 'the sole right of archaeological exploration' in Persia granted to the French Government 'some eight or nine years ago.'[191] He hopes that English archaeologists will be permitted to dig there soon, by which 'Persia would be richer, France none the poorer, and the whole world of art would gain.'[192] The increase in archaeological activity in Persia in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the extensive 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy, are topics considered in the introduction to Chapter 5. Indeed, Vernoit argues that the 1930s were 'probably the

[183] Vernoit 12. Henri Moser, *Collection Henri Moser-Charlottenfels: Oriental Arms and Armour* (Leipzig, 1912), p.3.
[184] Vernoit 12.
[185] Vernoit 14.
[186] Vernoit 15.
[187] Vernoit 18.
[188] Robert Murdoch Smith, *Persian Art* (London: Published for the Committee of Council on Education by Chapman and Hall, 1876).
[189] Vernoit 19.
[190] Charles Read, 'Introduction', in *Exhibition of the faience of Persia and the nearer East*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, (London: Printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1907) p.ix.
[191] Read x.
[192] Read xi.

most important decade for the investigation and interpretation of Iranian art,' a fascination reflected in Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana*.[193]

Literary history: Persian poetry and *Hajji Baba*

British travel-writing on Persia is characterized by its engagement with Persian literary heritage. The travelogues of earlier authors, British translations of Persian works including Edward Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam, and above all James Morier's satire *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, shape profoundly Britons' imagining of the country prior to their journeys there, and are routinely cited in travelogues. An indicator of the popularity of travelogues and the Rubáiyat in late Victorian discourse is conveyed by a passage from Kipling's *Stalky and Co.* The character Beetle, based on Kipling himself, finds in the Head's library 'Hakluyt, his voyages' and 'an odd theme, purporting to be a translation of something called a 'Rubáiyat,' which the Head said was a poem not yet come to its own.'[194] Within the semi-fictionalized portrait of the United Services College, which trained men for service in the forces throughout the empire, travel-writing and translations of Persian literature are evident.

The earliest Persian poet with whom a number of British travel writers were familiar was Ferdowsi (940-1020), author of the *Shahnameh*.[195] A recent translator, Dick Davis, labels this 'the national epic of Iran… the history of the country and its people from the creation of the world up to the Arab conquest.'[196] Kathryn Babayan notes the cyclical history presented within the work, suggesting: 'The history of Iran as represented by Ferdowsi… describes cycles of change alternating between ages of wisdom and justice, when Iran was prosperous, and dark eras, in which tyranny and chaos reigned and virtue was humiliated.'[197] One can hypothesize that this conception of a lengthy and fluctuating history of Iran shaped travellers' responses to, for example, the awe-inspiring ruins of Persepolis alongside corrupt and

[193] Vernoit 44.
[194] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Last Term,' *The Complete Stalky and Co.* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), p.259.
[195] The poem was the subject of a recent exhibition in Cambridge: 'Epic of the Persian Kings: the Art of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*,' Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 11 September 2010-9 January 2011, in celebration of the millennium of the completion of Ferdowsi's work. See also *Epic of the Persian Kings: the Art of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh*, ed. Barbara Brend and Charles Melville (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).
[196] Dick Davis, 'Introduction,' from Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*, translated by Dick Davis (London: Penguin, 2006), p.xiv.
[197] Babayan 26.

impoverished nineteenth-century Qajar Iran, as well as the perceived revival of Iranian strength under Reza Shah Pahlavi in the 1920s and 1930s. Some may have been familiar with the work in the original, but an abridged translation was also published in 1832.[198] Furthermore, Matthew Arnold reimagined the Sohrab and Rustum scenes in 1853, utilizing tropes from western epic poetry.[199] Sohrab fights for the Tartars, hoping his father the Persian hero Rustum, whom he has never met, will hear of his achievements. Unwittingly Rustum accepts Sohrab's challenge to engage in single combat. To Sohrab's questioning, Rustum denies he is Rustum, fearing some trickery. Rustum fatally wounds Sohrab, who reveals and proves his identity as he lies dying, and Rustum is overcome with grief for his long-lost son. Arnold's work uses Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*,[200] from which the relevant passage was first included in the 1854 edition, 'omitted in 1857, and restored in 1869.'[201] Furthermore, in the 1854 edition Arnold includes a lengthy quotation from M. Mohl's French prose translation, and expresses regret that he could not read a prose translation of the whole episode.[202]

In contrast with Arnold's translation-derived version of Persian poetry, Edward Fitzgerald's translation of the *Rubáiyat* of Omar Khayyam derived from first-hand knowledge of Persian. Alongside Khayyam, Fitzgerald studied Saadi, Firdusi, Hafiz and Jami.[203] Khayyam (born 1048) 'was known in his time as a man of science'[204] and arguably 'his fame in English-speaking countries is almost entirely due to Fitzgerald's masterly translation' rather than his status in Persia itself.[205] Fitzgerald's

[198] *The Sháh Námeh of the Persian poet Firdausí*, translated and abridged, in prose and verse, with notes and illustrations by J. Atkinson (London, 1832). Atkinson also translated *Customs and manners of the women of Persia, and their domestic superstitions*, translated from the original Persian manuscript (*Kitábi Kulsúm Nanch*) (London, 1832). Atkinson spent most of his life in India, and is considered 'a pioneer of Oriental research.' Stanley Lane-Poole, Parvin Loloi, 'Atkinson, James (1780–1852)', rev. Parvin Loloi, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/847, accessed 28 September 2011]

[199] Matthew Arnold, 'Sohrab and Rustum,' *Poems* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853) pp.5-50.

[200] Sir John Malcolm, *The history of Persia, from the most early period to the present time* (London: Murray, 1815).

[201] *The Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry (London: OUP, 1950), notes by editors, p.489.

[202] Arnold, 1950, p.493.

[203] Christopher Decker, 'Introduction,' *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám: A critical edition*, Edward Fitzgerald, ed. Christopher Decker (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997), p.xxv.

[204] Jos Coumans, *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám: An updated bibliography* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010), p.14.

[205] David Fraser, *The Marches of Hindustan, the record of a journey in Thibet, Trans-Himalayan India, Chinese Turkestan, Russian Turkestan, and Persia* (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1907), pp.427-8.

work is part-translation, part-adaptation, part 'more generally inspired by Omar's poetry, other Persian poetry, and FitzGerald's own ideas.'[206] Arguably, therefore, Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyat* is 'in some ways an original English poem, one that is much better known than Omar's poem is in Persian.'[207] In contrast with Fitzgerald's work, a *fin-de-siècle* translation emphasized its closeness to the original.[208]

Important twelfth- and thirteenth-century Persian poets include Sa'di or Saadi (1184-1291) and Jalaluddin Rumi (1207-73).[209] The former wrote 'as the Mongols were conquering the Iranian domains,' the mood of which Babayan sees in his *Gulistān*.[210] Saadi's most famous works are *Bustan* (*The Orchard*) and *Gulistan* (*The Rose Garden*), and the latter in particular is cited by many travellers to Persia during this era.[211] The works of Saadi had been circulating in Europe for centuries, having been brought by Renaissance scholars via Latin translation, 'and men of the Enlightenment, such as Voltaire and Franklin, had seen in his religious breadth of view, his practical good sense, and his strong ethical tone much to recommend him to their age.'[212] Rumi was both poet and orthodox professor of theology,[213] and considered by some 'as a Sufi mystic…to be a living saint.'[214] Rumi was inspired by the 'the wandering Sufi mystic (or dervish) Shamsuddin Tabrizi.' A twentieth-

[206] Sheldon Goldfarb, 'FitzGerald , Edward (1809–1883)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9548, accessed 28 September 2011] Goldfarb cites Terhune's work: A. M. Terhune, *The life of Edward FitzGerald, translator of The rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* (Oxford: OUP, 1947).
[207] Ibid.
[208] *The Quatrains of Omar Kheyyam of Nishapour, now first completely done into English verse from the Persian, in accordance with the original forms*, with a biographical and critical introduction, by John Payne (London: Printed for the Villon Society, 1898).
[209] *Islamic mystical poetry: Sufi verse from the early mystics to Rumi*, ed. with translations and introduction by Mahmood Jamal (London: Penguin Books, 2009), pp.161, 126.
[210] Babayan 87.
[211] Nineteenth century translations of Saadi include: *The Gulistan (Rose Garden)*, collated with the original MSS. by E. B. Eastwick, (Austin: Hertford, 1850). A second edition of Eastwick's translation appeared in 1880 (London: Trübner & Co, 1880). *The Gulistan or Rose Garden*, translated by F. Gladwin, with an essay on Saadi's Life and Genius, by J. Ross, and a preface by R. W. Emerson (Boston, Mass., 1865). *Translation and explanation of Saadi's Tayebat*, *Odes 1-50*, by D. F. Mulla (Bombay: Cooper & Cooper, 1895). *A few Flowers from the Garden of Sheikh Saadi Shirazi. Being translations into English verse of portions of the Būstān,* by W. M. (Calcutta, 1877). *Sadi: Gulistan or Flower-Garden*, translated by J. Ross (The Camelot Classics, 1886).

The explorer and travel writer Sir Richard Francis Burton had translated Sadi in the 1880s, but this edition was for private subscribers only: *The Gulistan; or, Rose garden of Sa'di. Faithfully translated into English* (Benares: Kama Shastra Society, 1888).

Sections of Saadi were also used for the study of Persian: *Second Book of Persian, to which are added the Pandnámah of Shaikh Saádi and the Gulistán, chapter I., together with vocabularies and short notes*, by Doctor Sorabshaw Byramji (2nd edn., Surat, 1880).
[212] John D. Yohannan, 'The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825,' *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring, 1952), 137-160, 143.
[213] Jamal 126
[214] Michael Hamilton Morgan, *Lost History: the enduring legacy of Muslim scientists, thinkers, and artists* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2008), p.243.

century translator of Rumi notes this 'transformation from sober theologian and preacher into ecstatic dancer and enraptured poet.'[215] Mahmood Jamal argues that: 'his six-volume *Masnavi* is seen by many to be an interpretation of the essence of Islamic thought and ideas and a distillation of many of the verse of the Qur'an.' Indeed, the work is 'sometimes referred to as the Qur'an in the Persian language.'[216] Various English editions appeared throughout the nineteenth century.[217]

Like Saadi, who settled in 1256 in Shiraz, the city of roses and nightingales, Hafiz (1320-89) is associated closely with Shiraz, which retained a particular allure in the eyes of literary travellers.[218] The popular mystical works of Hafiz are gathered under the title *Divan*, meaning collection.[219] Manoochehr Kashani has traced the knowledge of Hafiz in the west from Thomas Hyde's Latin translation from the 1690s, to Count C. E. de Reviczki's Latin translation of sixty odes in 1771, as well as Sir William Jones' work.[220] Most relevant to the era of this thesis is Gertrude Bell's 1897 translation, which was well received.[221] Later English translations included those by 'Walter Leaf (1898), John Payne (1901), and Richard Le Gallienne (1925).'[222]

To students of Persian these poets and others would be familiar, but it is harder to trace their wider impact. John Yohannan has hypothesised, sometimes implausibly, about the impact of Persian poetry on a wide variety of figures, including Isaac D'Israeli's adaptation of the Persian story of Laili and Majnun, which drew on the work of 'Jones, Ouseley, Nott, and other Orientalists.'[223] This was later the 'basis for an opera by Isaac Brandon, *Kais or Love in the Deserts*.'[224] Yohannan considers Thomas Moore's 1817 poem *Lallah Rookh*, cited by Ella Sykes in her travelogue, to

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[215] A. Arberry, 'Introduction,' *Mystical Poems of Rumi*, translated from the Persian by A. J. Arberry (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009) p.27.
[216] Jamal 126.
[217] Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmi, *The Mesneví*, translated, and the poetry versified, by J.W. Redhouse (Trübner's Oriental Series, 1881). *Masnavi i Ma'navi: the spiritual couplets of Maulána Jalálu-'d-Dín*, translated and abridged by E. H. Whinfield. (London and Edinburgh: Trübner & Co., 1887). Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmi, *Selected poems from the Divani Shamsi Tabriz, edited* and translated by A. A. Nicholson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898).
[218] Jamal 161.
[219] Jamal 216.
[220] Manoochehr Aryanpur Kashani, 'Introduction,' *Odes of Hafiz: Poetical s*, translated by Abba Aryanpur Kashani (Lexingtom, KY: Mazda Publishers, 1984).
[221] Gertrude Bell, *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz* (London: W. Heinemann, 1897).
[222] Kashani iv. See also *Hafiz, the Persian Lyric Poet,a selection, translated by Sir William Jones, the Orientalist, and others* (Edinburgh, London: T. N. Foulis: Edinburgh, London, 1906).
[223] Yohannan 142-151.
[224] Yohannan 151.

be 'the example par excellence of the pseudo-Oriental poem in English.'[225] Yohannan also considers the ways in which Persian poems and poets were 'classicized': Sir William Jones labelled 'Firdausi "the Persian Homer" because his *Shahnamah*… is an epic poem… Hafiz he named "the Persian Anacreon" because many of the *ghazals* (odes) in his *Divan*… are panegyrics and drinking songs.' Yohannan argues that 'these epithets became standard parts of any accounts of the two poets for well nigh the next hundred years, long after the neo-classical necessity that called them into being had ceased to exist.'[226] Yohannan thus stresses 'the pre-eminence of Persian poetry over the poetry of other Asiatic nations as an influence upon English literature of this period.'[227] His conclusions on Tennyson's familiarity with Persian have, however, been criticized.[228]

An illustrated anthology of Persian poetry published in 1845 and reprinted in 1899, 1911, 1913 and 1924, gives some indication of the esteem in which beautifully-presented Persian poetry was held. Louisa Costello, author and miniature painter, collected selections from Ferdowsi, Omar Khiam [sic] ('the Voltaire of Persia'), Saddi and Hafiz ('the Persian Anacreon').[229] *The Rose Garden of Persia* contains 'decorative borders deriving from original manuscripts held by the Asiatic Society,' and thus mimics ornate Persian manuscripts. A recent biographer of Costello notes the generally inferior quality of her novels, but argues that in the case of *The Rose Garden*: 'Although Costello worked from prose translations rather than the original works her interpretations were satisfactory; her paraphrases of sections of the *Quatrains* of 'Umar Khayyam, for instance, compare creditably with the celebrated translation by Edward Fitzgerald.'[230] Costello recognises that 'except Sadi and Hafiz, and, it may be, Ferdusi, there are few whose names even are known to the general English reader; and that the too common impression is, that there exists a great

[225] Yohannan 155.
[226] Yohannan 143.
[227] Yohannan 137.
[228] J. D. Yohannan, 'Tennyson and Persian Poetry,' *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Feb., 1942), 83-92. W. D. Paden, 'Tennyson and Persian Poetry, Again,' *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 58, No. 8 (December 1943), 652-656.
[229] Louisa Costello, *The Rose Garden of Persia – A collection of translations from Persian poets* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1845), pp.192-3.
One might compare Costello's work with: *Persian anthology: being selections from the Gulistan of Sadi, the Rubaiyat of Hafiz and the Anwar-i-Suheili*, rendered into English verse from the original by Alexander Rogers (London : Bevington and Co., 1889).
[230] Rosemary Mitchell, 'Costello, Louisa Stuart (1799–1870)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6380, accessed 13 May 2010].

monotony in their verse, both as to sound and to sense.'[231] She refutes this view, citing the work of Sir William Jones, who had 'justly pronounced, that the verse of the East is – "rich in forcible expressions, in bold metaphors, in sentiments of fire, and in descriptions animated with the most lively colouring."' Costello endeavours to present these 'precious poetical gems' to an audience beyond 'the learned.'[232] Thus it is clear that Persian poetry was accessible to British audiences throughout the nineteenth century, and reasonable to hypothesise that most travellers to Persia would have some prior knowledge of Persian literary heritage.

The most literary minded of all travellers to Persia from 1890 to 1940 was Edward Granville Browne, who travelled to Persia for the only time in his life from 'October 1887 to September 1888,' and later published a travelogue on his experiences.[233] His later scholarship on Persian history and literature earned him the Persian order of the Lion and Sun in 1900.[234] His *magnum opus* was the four volume *A Literary History of Persia*, and he was also a prominent figure in Anglo-Persian political relations, as the introduction to Chapter 3 of this thesis makes clear.[235] This combination of political engagement and literary work echoes James Morier's career. Member of the Harford Jones' 1808 mission, Morier travelled to Persia again in 1809-10 and 1811-15. After his first journey to Persia, which included a visit to Persepolis, Morier travelled back to London accompanied by a Persian Envoy, Mirza Abul Hasan, for whom he acted as aide again in London in 1819-20.[236] From his first journey to Persia, Morier contemplated 'a book about his travels and the people of Persia, and he [kept] a detailed journal "*à la Chardin*",' a significant seventeenth-century travel-writer on Persia.[237] Morier's biographer Henry Johnston argues that Morier 'never grew to like Persia, even though he later portrayed it and its inhabitants with shrewdness and humour in his novels.'[238] Moreover, 'James, despite his dislike of

[231] Costello ii.
[232] Costello ii.
[233] E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893).
[234] E. D. Ross, John Gurney, 'Browne, Edward Granville (1862–1926)', rev. John Gurney, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32120, accessed 11 October 2011]
[235] Edward G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia from the earliest times until Firdawsí* (London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1902); *A Literary history of Persia from Firdawsí to Sa'dí* (London: T. Fisher and Unwin. 1906); *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion (A.D. 1265-1502)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920); *A History of Persian Literature in modern times (A.D. 1500-1924)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924).
[236] Henry McKenzie Johnston, *Ottoman and Persian Odysseys: James Morier, Creator of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, and his Brothers* (London and New York: British Academic Press, 1998), p.105.
[237] Johnston 94.
[238] Johnston 94-5.

Persia and the Persians, could not but be kind and generous to them in misfortune.'[239] Nonetheless in 1812 Morier wrote to his brother: 'I am sick of Persia & everything belonging to it, and I don't think I shall ever have a wish to write again about it.'[240] Perhaps the favourable reviews of his first travelogue, *A Journey Through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809* (1812), contributed to a change of heart. This was followed in 1818 by another travelogue, and in 1824 by *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. This satirical fictionalised portrait of the Persian merchant Hajji Baba, ostensibly a translation of his autobiography, was interpreted by many later travellers to Persia as an accurate representation of life in the country, even two centuries later.[241] The 'somewhat cruel, though witty, caricature of Abul Hasan' effectively terminated the men's friendship.[242] *Hajji Baba*'s presentation of Persian life, based on the experiences of Morier and his knowledge of Hasan, and presented with the impression of truth through the autobiographical form, influenced later travellers profoundly. There was thus substantial work undertaken on Persian literature throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries; but the work which most impacted upon British conceptions of Persia was not a translation, but this semi-fictional and satirical English text. *Hajji Baba* was regularly reprinted in the *fin-de-siècle* and early twentieth century, with introductions by some of the era's most prominent Orientalists.[243] These included George Curzon, who considered the text to present a faithful portrait of the Persian character. According to his biographer David Gilmour, Curzon could not understand the post-WWI Persian nationalism 'because he did not understand a phenomenon he had not come across in… the pages of *Hajji Baba*.'[244] The text's impact on travellers to Persia cannot be underestimated, even on a figure such as Curzon who engaged with contemporary Persian politics throughout his

[239] Johnston 187.
[240] Johnston 179, quoting James Morier to David Morier, 29/11/1812.
[241] 'Having myself spent many happy years in Persia and travelled widely there I hope my Persian friends will not take it amiss if I endorse George Curzon's view, written a century ago, that *Hajji Baba*, for all its levity, is a penetrating study of Persian character and manners.' Denis Wright, 'Foreword,' *Ottoman and Persian Odysseys*, p.xiii, citing Curzon's 1895 introduction to *Hajji Baba*.
[242] Johnston 216.
[243] Morier, *Hajji Baba,* illustrated by H. R. Millar, with an introduction by the Hon. G. Curzon (London: Macmillan & Co., 1895); *Hajji Baba,* introduction by E.G. Browne (London: Methuen, 1895); *Hajji Baba*, edited by C. J. Wills, with introduction by Sir F. Goldsmid (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1897); *Haji Baba*, translated from English into Persian by Ḥaji Shaikh Aḥmad-Ikirmani, and edited with notes by Major D. C. Phillott (Baptist Mission Press: Calcutta, 1905); *Hajji Baba*, illustrated by Cyrus Le Roy Baldridge (London; Camden, N.J.: Hamish Hamilton, 1937).
[244] David Gilmour, *Curzon: Imperial Statesman* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), pp.518-9.

career, and read so widely in the preparation of his text on Persia, to which this thesis now turns.

Chapter 1: Possession and Propriety: British fin-de-siècle accounts of Persia, 1892-1898

1.1 Introduction

Turkestan, Afghanistan, Transcaspia, Persia – to many these names breathe only a sense of utter remoteness or a memory of strange vicissitudes and of moribund romance. To me, I confess, they are the pieces on a chessboard upon which is being played out a game for the dominion of the world.[1]

This chapter analyses two contrasting British *fin-de-siècle* travel accounts of Persia. George Curzon, aristocratic MP and later Viceroy of India, published *Persia and the Persian Question* in 1892. Ella Sykes was an Oxford graduate for whom the trip to Persia was not part of a carefully planned career trajectory, but an unexpected and emancipatory experience. Her travelogue *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle*, published in 1898, founded a career of writing and speaking on Persia.[2] This thesis opens in the 1890s and begins with Curzon on account of the substantial and long-lasting impact he made on the field: in its scale, comprehensiveness, assimilation, and factual confidence, it became a necessary referent for British travellers to Persia for many years. Curzon's opinions reflect a popular late-nineteenth century view of Persia, namely its immense significance to the security of north-west India, and its potential as a trading partner, even potential component of the British Empire. Several figures offer counterpoints to Curzon's perspective and style in the 1890s. Isabella Bird met Curzon during her travels in Persia, and published *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* in 1891. Gertrude Bell published *Safar Nameh. Persian Pictures. A book of travel* in 1894, and this work was republished when her career in the Middle East became renowned; in its focus on Teheran, however, *Safar Nameh* does not provide comparable geographic range with Curzon's work. The future expert on Persian language, literature and politics, Edward Granville Browne, published *A Year Amongst the Persians* in 1893. This book came to be seen as a travel classic, but its initial reception was lukewarm. In many ways, Sykes' travelogue offers the most interesting contrast in her gender and dependence on her brother Percy; wide-ranging travel; target audience; and role and behaviour abroad. Sykes' three years abroad also contrast with Curzon's three months in Persia. Sykes situates her work in a heritage of

[1] George Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892), Vol. I, pp.3-4. Henceforth *Persia*.
[2] Ella Sykes, *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle* (London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1898).

travel writing and literature; Curzon positions himself as heir to political and historical records.

As Curzon's most recent biographer David Gilmour has commented in his sympathetic and revisionist portrayal, Teheran was the 'the central part' of Curzon's journey, 'where he arrive parched and exhausted, grateful for the glass of champagne proffered by the British Minister. He stayed for two weeks.'[3] That capital city had of course particular political, economic and diplomatic significance. The most outstanding section of the work is his eighty-page exposition on the ruins of the Achaemenid city of Persepolis, which was destroyed by Alexander the Great. Gilmour calls this chapter 'the most astonishing section of the entire work… on Persepolis, a subject on which in his opinion almost every previous author had written with unbelievable inaccuracy. No wonder his despairing publisher implored him to curtail some of the "retrospective details"; no wonder he refused Curzon's request to publish a third volume consisting entirely of appendices.'[4] Even the usually critical Kenneth Rose concedes that these pages are 'indispensable to any serious student of those dynasties [Xerxes, Artaxerxes and Darius]', and 'they also illuminate the industry, erudition, reconstructive imagination and intense concentration which he brought to problems of archaeology.'[5] While Curzon's life has been the subject of several biographies, Ella's life figures only as an aside to Antony Wynn's biography of Percy.[6] Ella visited neither Persepolis nor Isfahan, and the central focus of her work is her description of housekeeping in the consulate in the south-west city Kerman. She was 'the first European memsahib to be seen in those remote corners of Persia.'[7] Immediately, therefore, in some ways, her work is positioned liminally within Persia, away from the capital and the emerging tourist destinations of Persepolis and Isfahan. The south-eastern provinces of Persia were, however, significant for their proximity to India, and for the unresolved border which Percy helped to demarcate in the 1896 Perso-Baluch Boundary Commission. Ella travelled

[3] David Gilmour, *Curzon: Imperial Statesman* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), p.78.
[4] Gilmour 79. Notes: Curzon to Mrs. Bishop, 15 October 1891, NLS 7179 (mics.); Longman to Curzon, 17 Feb. 1891, Salisbury Papers and Curzon Papers 111/1.
[5] Kenneth Rose, *Superior Person: A portrait of Curzon and his circle in late Victorian England* (1969; London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), p.266.
[6] Antony Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game: Sir Percy Sykes – Explorer, Consul, Soldier, Spy* (London: John Murray, 2003).
[7] Denis Wright, 'Memsahibs in Persia,' *Asian Affairs*, Vol. XIV (February 1983), 5-14, p.13.

with Percy to the Perso-Baluch border, a region known for its lawlessness and challenging climate, showing an intrepid spirit. Perhaps surprisingly, however, these texts also share certain preoccupations and anxieties which form a central area of discussion within this thesis. Curzon and Ella both betray anxieties about the form of travel-writing, its value, and what content will be of most interest to readers. Both texts also interpret Persia substantially through the lens of the British Empire, the possibility of imperial expansion, and increasing British engagement in Persian affairs.

1.2 George Curzon: Assimilation and Possession

For uncompromising egotism, the book would be hard to beat.
Mr. Curzon seems to be under the impression that he has discovered Persia,
he now in some way mysteriously owns it.[8]

This quotation from the *Sunday Sun* review of Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question* is unusually critical, but also an amusing and understandable response to the behemoth. The possession in the title of this chapter refers to Curzon's harnessing of centuries of research on Persia, and assumption of the mantle of expert *sine qua non* on the country. Moreover, it is a comment on Curzon's attitude towards the contemporary infrastructure of Persia, and the implied beneficial and necessary influence or interference of Britain. Curzon fostered political ambitions since his Oxford University years, where in the Union he had parried with Nasr al-Mulk, later Prime Minister and Regent of Persia.[9] His early travels were primarily in Europe and 'some regions of Africa and Asia along the Mediterranean seaboard.'[10] These routes were becoming accessible to the middle classes through Thomas Cook's expanding Europe tours of the 1860s, and his son's development of cruises down the Nile.[11] In 1882-3, Curzon travelled through Palestine into Syria, and adopted a common project of comparing modern sites with references to them in the Bible. During the same trip

[8] "A Dull Book About Persia," *Sunday Sun* review of *Persia and the Persian Question*, June 5, 1892, p.7.
[9] Gilmour 26. Reference page 607: J. Hone, *Balliol College*, pp.213 ff.; Rodd, *Social and Diplomatic Memories 1884-1893*, pp.6-8; Gwynn, *Letters and Friendships*, Vol. I, p.288; Faber, *Jowett*, pp.244, 352.
[10] Gilmour 65.
[11] Piers Brendon, 'Cook, Thomas (1808–1892)', *ODNB*, OUP, September 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6152, accessed 15 September 2009]

he visited Egypt and Turkey.[12] During the late 1880s and early 1890s he embarked on a series of voyages through Russia, Central Asia, and then Persia.[13] A product of one of these journeys was *Russia in Central Asia*, which reflects his concerns about Russian expansion.[14] Gilmour argues that these journeys 'were not made primarily to experience… fascination', rather they were part of 'a "scheme of Asiatic travel" that would make him the most knowledgeable politician of the age on India and the wide regions which bordered the Subcontinent.'[15] Kenneth Rose, an earlier and more critical biographer of Curzon, argues that 'the ultimate purpose of his tour… was to produce what he called a full-length and life-size portrait of Persia.'[16] I would argue that the text is partly a means to an end, and that while Rose is right to stress Curzon's achievement in the work *Persia*, Gilmour with more insight situates the work against Curzon's long-held ambition to be Viceroy of India, and the need to show the British public and government his dedication to this cause as well as his expertise on the region. Curzon himself, however, acknowledges briefly 'the wonderful and incalculable fascination of the East,' although the majority of his work demonstrates the political motivation as greater than the emotional.[17]

Curzon's material on Persia was published in two stages, first as a series of seventeen letters in *The Times* between November 1889 (about a month after his arrival in Persia) and March 1890, for each of which he was paid 12 pounds 10 shillings.[18] These letters focus on contemporary Persia, and contain little of the historical exegesis of the complete *Persia*. They resemble to some extent the work of a foreign correspondent, and journalism in the field prior to publication of a travelogue becomes a common trope in the field of British travel-writing on Persia.[19] The second

[12] Gilmour 36.
[13] Gilmour 65.
[14] Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889).
[15] Gilmour 65.
[16] Kenneth Rose, *Curzon: A most superior person* (1969; London: Macmillan, 1985), p.217.
[17] *Persia*, Vol. I, 12.
[18] Gilmour 78.
[19] These were all titled 'Persia and the Persian Question' with the following subheadings, place and date of writing, and date of publication:

En Route: Batoum;	Baku October 7th;	November 30th 1889, p.12.
Baku: The Transcaspian Railway;	Askabad, October 10th;	December 3rd, p.8.
Kuchan and Meshed;	Meshed, October 25th;	December 6th, p.12.
Khorasan;	Teheran, November 7th;	December 17th, p.8.
Khorasan (continued);	Teheran, November 8th;	December 21st, p.6.
From Meshed to Teheran;	Teheran, November 16th;	December 27th, p.6.
The Shah and his Government;	Teheran, November 23rd;	December 31st, p.5.

stage was the two volume, 1,300 page compendium on most aspects of Persian politics, economics, society and history, published in May 1892.[20] The transformation from journalism to behemoth is unremarkable given Curzon's tendency towards verbosity, remarked on by all colleagues throughout his life, as well as his editor.[21] On this subject in relation to *Persia*, Curzon remarked with wry knowingness to Mary Leiter, later his first wife: 'Still, the thing is not so much that people should read the book as that they should say it is a classic – which, after all, is easily done, while perusal is little removed from penal servitude.'[22] One review noted the length of the work might deter some readers:

> …he is a charming travelling companion for any one who wishes, not only to enjoy himself as a tourist, but also to be comprehensively instructed in the past history, present condition, and future prospects of the regions traversed. Certainly no one who has made the journey with such a guide will regret having undertaken it, but a good many people will probably hesitate about starting.[23]

Thomas Norton Longman was horrified by the length of the work, and 'refused Curzon's request to publish a third volume consisting entirely of appendices,' while Curzon resented lack of clarity on royalties.[24] Despite many positive reviews and its substantial impact on later travellers to and travelogues on Persia, Curzon viewed the income of £406 in ten years as 'a miserable return.'[25] Before publication, Curzon was offered the under-secretaryship of India, and asked to censor passages on the Shah's wife. Tensions between Britain and Persia would not have been helped by his

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The Persian System of Government;	Ispahan, December 3rd;	January 15th 1890, p.8.
Railways;	Bushire, December 18th;	January 27th, p.8.
Teheran to Bushire;	Bushire, December 20th;	January 31st, p.8.
The Karun River;	Bussorah, December 31st;	February 4th, p.12.
The Persian Army;	Bagdad, January 6th;	February 11th, p.8.
Revenue, Resources, and Trade;	Bagdad, January 18th;	February 28th, p.13.
British and Russian Trade;	Bussorah, January 23rd;	March 3rd, p.4.
The Persian Gulf;	Bender Abbas, January 30th;	March 7th, p.13.
Russian Policy in Persia;	not stated;	March 11th, p.13.
(Conclusion) British Policy in Persia;	not stated;	March 14th, p.13.

[20] Gilmour 81.
[21] Gilmour 83.
[22] July 22nd, 1892. Taken from *The Life of Lord Curzon*, Lawrence Zetland, Earl of Ronaldshay, (London: Ernest Benn Ltd, 1928), p.156.
[23] *The Times* reviews *Persia and the Persian Question*, 19 May, 1892, p.3.
[24] Gilmour 79. Reference page 611. Longman to Curzon, 17 February 1891, Curzon Papers, 112/615.
[25] Gilmour 83-4. Reference page 611: Longman to Curzon, 27 January 1892, and note by Curzon, Curzon Papers, India Office Library, 112/615.

unflattering comments, although other criticisms of Persia and the Shah were allowed to stand.[26]

Many British and European scholars contributed to Curzon's text, preeminent among them General Houtum-Schindler, of whom Curzon writes: 'Few men so excellently qualified to write a first-rate book themselves would have lent such unselfish exertion to improve the quality of another man's work.'[27] Houtum-Schindler's biographer suggests that he was in fact responsible for most of the statistical information in *Persia*, which partially undermines Curzon's claim to immense personal study.[28] Of whose work is Curzon speaking when he writes: 'Figures and facts – which are, in their very essence, an insult to the Oriental imagination – are only arrived at in Persia after long and patient enquiry and by careful collation of the results of a great number of independent investigations.'?[29] Curzon constructs a table listing 'the names of all… travellers, within my knowledge, as have, since the beginning of the tenth century, added to our geographical or historical acquaintance with Persia by themselves visiting and writing about the country, and whose compositions are, with a few exceptions, accessible to the public.'[30] Despite the limitation that the texts must have been originally written in or translated into 'a European tongue,' he cites over three-hundred individuals, concluding with Isabella Bird-Bishop.[31] Curzon and Bishop met in Persia in January 1890, on a steam boat on the Tigris. Bird-Bishop remarked in a letter home that none of her fellow travellers on the boat, who also included Dr Bruce of the Church Missionary Society and Major Herbert Sawyer with whom she rode, could 'be guaranteed as non-explosive.'[32] Curzon wrote of *Journeys* that: 'By far the best modern account of the habits and beliefs of the Bakhtiaris is to be found in the vivacious pages of Mrs. Bishop.'[33] Curzon's citation of so many earlier and even

[26] Gilmour 83.
[27] *Persia*, Vol. 1, Preface, xiii.
[28] 'Unusually self-effacing himself, he allowed others to make use of his remarkable knowledge, notably Lord Curzon who obtained from Houtum-Schindler most of the detailed statistical information on the army, population, distances, revenue, and much else in his great work, *Persia and the Persian Question.*' John Gurney, 'Schindler, Sir Albert Ashershund Houtum- (1846–1916)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53520, accessed 15 September 2009]
[29] *Persia*, Vol. 1, Preface, x.
[30] *Persia*, Vol. I, 16.
[31] *Persia*, Vol. I, 16-18.
[32] Pat Barr, *A Curious Life for a Lady: The story of Isabella Bird* (London: Macmillan & Company Ltd, and John Murray, 1970), p.222. See also Isabella Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* (London: John Murray, 1891), vol. I, p.9.
[33] *Persia*, Vol. II, 300.

contemporary writers has the dual effect of both strengthening his claims to comprehensiveness, and undermining the originality of his travels and text. Curzon's achievement is substantial, but he stands on the shoulders of giants.

Curzon's Preface tackles the question of the genre of the work in some detail, preferring to present it as a piece of equipment for specific audiences, rather than an entertaining travelogue. Curzon situates the work within the context of the British Empire through the dedication, hinting at the imperial attitude he took towards Persia, even though he did not necessary support actual colonisation of it:

> To the officials, civil and military in India whose hands uphold the noblest fabric yet reared by the genius of a conquering nation[,] I dedicate this work[,] the unworthy tribute of the pen to a cause which by justice or with the sword it is their high mission to defend[,] but whose ultimate safeguard is the spirit of the British people.[34]

The patriotism befits such a prominent figure at the apogee of the British Empire: characteristically masculine, citing violent repression with the sword, but inherently optimistic about the colonising mission. Curzon's eight-page Preface turns from the sword to the pen, emphasising the effort he has expended upon the project: 'I can truly say that single lines in this book have sometimes cost me hours of work and pages of correspondence.'[35] The experience of the country lends the work its travelogue tone, while depth of research makes the text more of a reference tool, a guide book for the traveller, and an evaluation of the status quo for future hypothetical colonial administrators or consuls, telegraph officials and bank clerks. Curzon argues that the work was born of necessity:

> So scattered… did all the correct information about the country prove to be, that a traveller, meditating the proper literary equipment for at all an extensive journey in Persia, would almost require a separate baggage-animal to carry the library of indispensable tomes. In proportion, therefore, as I advanced, so did the horizon of my task expand before me, until I realised that there was genuine and imperative need for a compendious work dealing with every aspect of public life in Persia, with its inhabitants, provinces, cities, lines of communication, antiquities, government, institutions, resources, trade, finance, policy, and present and future development – in a word, with all that has made or continues to make it a nation.[36]

[34] *Persia*, Vol. I, v.
[35] *Persia*, Vol. 1, Preface, xi.
[36] *Persia*, Vol. 1, Preface, viii.

In many ways, therefore, as the single necessary and conveniently portable text for future travellers to Persia, Curzon's work is designed to become the essential guide-book on Persia: this element of its genre has been elided by biographers who have perhaps seen the term as belittling to its academic status. Its guide-book element is supported by a reference to 'a Bradshaw', in place of which this text might stand: George Bradshaw created the first railway timetables in England, which came to be known by his name alone.[37] The guide-book element is also evident in the sub-headings and index, making any topic easily found. Furthermore, Curzon explicitly draws two possible classes of readers to particular chapters:

> Note to Readers
> Conscious that I am, to some extent, appealing to a twofold class of readers, the student and the amateur, whose interests do not always coincide, may I so far anticipate the tastes of both as to comment to the trained acumen of the former class Chapters II. IV. VIII. IX. XII. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XXI. XXIII. XXIV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX.; and to the more desultory sympathies of the latter, Chapters I. III. V. VI. VII. X. XI. XIII. XIV. XV. XIX. XX. XXII. XXV. XXX.?[38]

The tentative 'may I' belies the control Curzon seeks to exert beyond the publication of the text, and while the tone might have been intended to be understanding and jovial, the effect is rather patronising towards the mere 'desultory' amateur. As another example, Chapter II is additionally labelled 'Dedicated to the Traveller only.'[39] For all his awareness of the work's multi-faceted nature – part memoir, part history, part political treatise – as well as his concession that the work need not be read as a whole, Curzon is anxious to highlight 'the unity of design with which I inspired to invest' the work.[40] Curzon seeks, therefore, to create a work which is supremely practical, and also an literary achievement of sorts.

The one genre he resists comparison with, however, is travel-writing, seemingly on account of its lowly status: 'I would sooner be the author of a political treatise that commended itself to the well-informed than a book of travel that caught the ephemeral taste of the public.'[41] Curzon belittles those 'who rush through a country'

[37] *Persia*, Vol. 1, Preface, xi. G. C. Boase, 'Bradshaw, George (1801–1853)', rev. Philip S. Bagwell, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3195, accessed 28 February 2010]
[38] *Persia*, Vol. 1, Note to Readers, vi.
[39] *Persia*, Vol. I, 26.
[40] *Persia*, Vol. 1, Preface, ix.
[41] *Persia*, Vol. I., 3.

or ‘who think the ignorant jottings of a tourist’s note-book good enough to supersede the labours of a long line of scholars and men of science.’[42] He concedes the addition of ‘whatever of variety or incident may be possible to a text that might otherwise prove somewhat solid of substance, by describing the wayfarer’s life in the East and the ever-fresh… incidents of travel’ in a cohesive ‘narrative.’[43] These incidents and descriptions of ‘the wayfarer’s life’ are hallmarks of travel-writing, and his inclusion of them hints at a desire to please *some* readers. This awareness of the importance of a travelogue’s readability becomes an increasing concern for British travel-writers on Persia over the years on which this thesis focuses.

In line with his desire to produce a useful work, *Persia* contains an exceptional map of ‘Persia, Afghanistan and Beluchistan’ by W. J. Turner, which ‘has cost [Curzon] a year’s anxious labour and supervision.’[44] The immense detail on Western Afghanistan and North-west India contrasts with Turkistan, showing a hierarchy of cartographic concern. In addition to the map, Volume I contains fourteen full-page illustrations (mostly photographs), twenty-five within the text, and four small maps. Volume II contains twenty-nine full page illustrations (again, mostly photographs), twenty-eight within the text, and six small maps. Unlike other travel-writers, including in particular for this thesis Ella Sykes and Mary Hume-Griffith, Curzon himself is never pictured.

[42] *Persia*, Vol. I, 10.
[43] *Persia*, Vol. I, 5 and Vol. I, 8.
[44] *Persia*, Vol. 1, Preface, x.

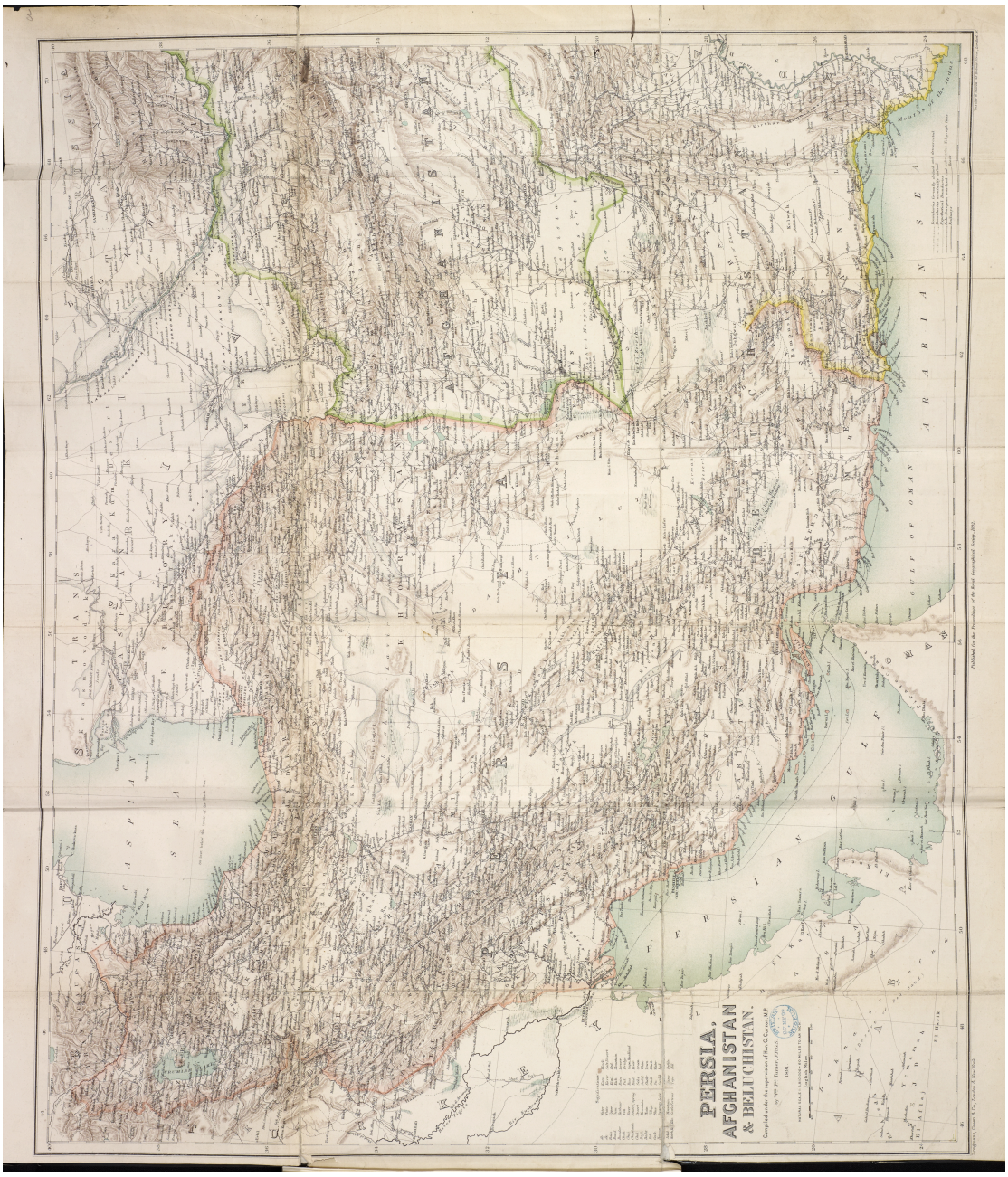

Figure 4 - Curzon's map of Persia, Afghanistan and Beluchistan (60cm by 65 cm)

Turning now from the prefatory remarks and paratexts to the chapters on Persia itself, one notes Curzon's use of wide-ranging epigraphs for his chapters. The first is from Bacon's essay on travel, which considers matters that should be observed when travelling: Bacon's comprehensive list might well be seen as Curzon's manifesto.[45] This guiding epigraph is almost immediately followed by a lengthy quotation from Curzon's own series of articles published in *The Times*, the opening letter of which set

[45] Francis Bacon, 'Of Travel', No. XVIII, *The Essays*, ed. John Pitcher (1597; London: Penguin, 1985).

out his ambitions for his work. This self-referentiality immediately claims a position for himself in this canon of writing on Persia. Curzon's history of Meshed meanwhile is introduced with a quotation from Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*: 'Some reverence is surely due to the fame of heroes and the religion of nations.'[46] Epigraphs are for Curzon elevating quotations, which focus the reader's mind on particular themes and concerns. Many other examples of Curzon's quotations from earlier writers present examples of critical engagement, often correction and negation.

Curzon's eighty-page chapter on Persepolis offers a microcosm of his writing style, combative approach, and aesthetic sensibility. It is one of the most heavily illustrated chapters in the two volumes, containing fifteen images and a plan of Persepolis. Carston Niebuhr was the first to map rather than merely sketch the site of Persepolis

[46] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 148. Chapter epigraph references:
Volume I:
I, Bacon, Essay xviii, on 'Travel';
II, Horace, *Carm*, lib. I. xxii (in Latin);
III, Shakespeare, *Induction to Henry IV, Part II*;
IV, J.G. Whittier, *On Receiving an Eagle's Quill*;
V, T. Moore, *Veiled Prophet of Khorasan* (from the collection *Lalla Rookh*);
VI, Tennyson, *The Palace of Art*;
VII, Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*;
VIII, Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part I,* act iii, scene 4;
IX, Matthew Arnold, *Sohrab and Rustam*;
X, Dr. Johnson, *Boswell's Life*; Horace, *Carm. Lib. I, xxxviii* (in Latin);
XI, Shelley, *The Revolt of Islam*, Canto V;
XII, *Daniel* xi. 13. Sykes also refers to the Bible: [Mosaic] 'reminded us of the description of Ahasuerus's palace at / Shushan, where the people feasted in the courtyard "upon a pavement of red and blue and white and black marble" (Esther i.6).' *Through Persia*, 111.
XIII, *Ecclesiastes,* viii. 4;
XIV, Shakespeare, *King Lear*;
XV, Longfellow, *Enceladus*;
XVI, Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, act iii. scene 4; Virgil, *Georgics* I. 465;
XVII, Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, *Part I*, act iv., scene ii.;
XVIII, Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, bk. ii., cap. ii.; Tennyson, *Locksley Hall*.
Volume II:
XIX, Southey, *Thalaba the Destroyer*, bk. v.;
XX, *Psalm*, xlv. 9.;
XXI, Shelley, *Alastor*, 116-28;
XXII, Herodotus, lib. ix. 122. (in Greek);
XXIII, Lucan, *Pharsal*., lib. ix.;
XXIV, Horace, *Carm.*, iii. 8.; Disraeli, *Tancred*;
XXV, Milton, *Paradise Regained*; *Persian Saying*;
XXVI, R. B. Sheridan, *The Critic*, act. ii. scene ii.;
XXVII, Byron, *The Bride of Abydos*;
XXVIII, Charles Kingsley, *Andromeda*;
XXIX, Nathaniel Lee, *Alexander the Great*, act iv., sc. ii;
XXX, Abdur Rahman Khan, *Letter to the Viceroy of India*; Tennyson, *Early Sonnets*.

in the late-eighteenth century, and features in Curzon's list of travellers to Persia.[47] For his corrective plan ('drawn under my own instructions'), Curzon collaborates with F. S. Weller.[48] Curzon gives his chapter on Persepolis an epigraph from Shelley's *Alastor*, on the ancient ruins of the Orient that the young poet visits. Curzon situates himself in the position of the intellectually ravenous youth, 'poring on memorials' through the heat of day and receiving the 'strong inspiration' of 'the thrilling secrets of the birth of time.'[49] Later passages in the poem speak of the poet's wandering through Arabia and Persia, much like Curzon himself. Curzon thus asks to be interpreted not only as a summarizer of archaeological and architectural research, but also as a Romantic wanderer, infused with an insatiable desire for knowledge and inspiration.

In contrast with the romantic self-identification with Alastor, Curzon labels the chapter a 'critical examination of the several ruins and monuments of antiquity' around Persepolis, but presents his research 'in the order of their occurrence to a traveller coming from the north.'[50] This again demonstrates the work's usefulness as a guide-book for future travellers. Curzon uses the vivid present tense and first person plural to draw his reader alongside his experience of the ruins. This imaginative construction of the site for the armchair traveller and structured route for the English man or woman who might follow him contrasts with the historical research of the chapter, some of which might prove a little too exhaustive for the weary traveller. Curzon's text sometimes emphasises his cataloguing of previous travellers as much as the site and country itself; the following passage, on the natural caverns outside of the village of Hajiabad, is exemplary:

> …they contain the celebrated bilingual epigraph of Shapir I., which I have previously mentioned in vol. i., and upon his interpretation of which Mr. Thomas has based the theory, for which there is no external confirmation, of the conversion to Christianity of the king. Morier appears to have been the first to visit the cave;[1] Ker Porter the first to copy the inscription,[2] of which illustrations were afterwards given by Flandin and Coste,[3] and more recently by Stolze,[4] and of which plaster casts were brought to England in 1835 by Sir E. Stannus, British Resident at Bushire. That the decipherment of the Pehlevi character has reached no scientific stage of development, is manifest from the different readings that have been given

[47] *Persia*, Vol. I, 17.
[48] *Persia*, Vol. II, 162.
[49] *Persia*, Vol. II, 115. From *Alastor*, Percy Shelley, lines 116-28.
[50] *Persia*, Vol. II, 115.

> of the Hajiabad lines; and sooner than pin my faith either to the philo-Christian theory of Mr. Thomas,[5] or to the bowshot theory of Dr. M. Haug,[1] although I believe the latter has secured the verdict of most scholars, I prefer the security of unshamed ignorance.
>
> [1] *Second Journey*, p. 80
> [2] *Travels*, vol. i. p. 513.
> [3] *Perse Ancienne*, vol. ii. pl. 164; vol. iv. pl. 193.
> [4] *Persepolis*, vol. ii. pl. 126.
> [5] *Early Sarssanian Inscriptions*, pp. 73-101.
> [1] *Essays on the Sacred Language of the Parsees.*[51]

Curzon thus seeks not only to present Persepolis as he saw it, but also as previous travellers had seen and engaged with it. Plaster casts like Stannus' were brought to London's British Museum, and highly popular in the late-eighteenth century. After a period out of fashion, they are now valued again for their evidence of erosion; moreover they are less controversial than the removal of parts of the site itself.[52]

One sees also in the above quotation Curzon's preference for 'unshamed ignorance' over uncertain conclusions, and this hesitancy over some matters recurs throughout the chapter. In relation to the bas-reliefs at Naksh-i-Rustam, he writes:

> [this boy] has led Dieulafoy to conjecture that the royal trio are Varahran II., his wife (who, according to Darmesteter was daughter of the leading Jew of Babylon), and their son, whose united figures appear on the coins of the reign. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the public portraiture of the female form would have been admissible as early as the end of the third century A.D. I prefer to therefore to leave the identification uncertain.[53]

At other points, Curzon refers to his predecessors with a certain humour. Henry Rawlinson's hypothesis that a bas-relief presents Varahan II's tyrannical reign being challenged by his principal nobles, is amusingly refuted: 'I doubt… whether a monarch would voluntarily select such an incident in his career for eternal

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[51] *Persia*, Vol. II, 116-7. In other sections, Curzon merely consigns his predecessors to footnotes, for example:

'Travellers have sought to recognise in the remains [of Istakhr] a palace, a temple, and a fort; but it appears to me to be doubtful how far this particularisation can be sustained.[1]

[1] The writers who have described or illustrated this… are: J. P. Morier (1809), *First Journey*, p.141; Sir R. K. Porter (1818), *Travels*, vol. i. p.573; C. J. Rich (1821), *Journey to Persepolis*; Texier, vol. ii. pls. 137; Flandin and Coste, vol. ii. pls. 58-61, and text; R. B. Binning (1851), *Two Years' Travel*, vol. ii; Stolze, vol. ii. pls. 123-5.' *Persia*, Vol. II, 135.

[52] 'History of Persepolis and Response', British Museum talk, 3rd June 2009.

[53] *Persia*, Vol. II, 119.

commemoration. Had a Royal Academy existed in England in the days of King John, would he have commissioned the President to paint a great picture of Runnymede and Magna Carta?' [54] This humour and preference for uncertainty over misplaced conclusions are perhaps slightly surprising elements of the description of Persepolis.

In contrast with the humour and occasional modesty surrounding archaeological conclusions, the chapter is also noteworthy for Curzon's performativity, intended either to entertain the reader, or satisfy his own cravings: he rides up the staircase to the royal receiving chamber on his horse to test the 'famous boast' of the staircase's gentle slope.[55] Other travellers might merely enter on foot, but Curzon records himself arriving in quasi-regal style. Curzon also inscribes himself on the ruins quite literally, as he condones the graffiti of other travellers including East India Company officials, and adds his own name: 'A structure so hopelessly ruined is not rendered the less impressive—on the contrary, to my thinking, it becomes the more interesting—by reason of the records graven upon it… by famous voyagers of the past.'[56] This question of the impressiveness of the ruins leads onto the final aspect of the chapter on Persepolis which requires exposition: Curzon's aesthetic analysis.

As an experienced traveller who has inspected 'other ancient Asiatic styles of architecture… *in situ*', Curzon implies he has the right to pass judgement on these ruins. He concludes emphatically: 'Among the royal sepulchres that I have seen in many parts of the world, few of the fabrics reared by man, and none of those in which nature is made to play the principal part, are more impressive than these.'[57] Noting that 'though this is not a treatise on art, and though I do not profess to be an art critic', Curzon feels 'justified in making a few observations in conclusion upon the artistic features and merits of the Persepolitan ruins.'[58] Once again, his use of the first person

[54] *Persia*, Vol. II, 124.
[55] *Persia*, Vol. II, 151.
[56] *Persia*, Vol. II, 156. 'He did not pause to consider what his reaction would have been on finding that a succession of Persian gentlemen had recorded their visits on the pillars of Stonehenge. He merely took out his knife and in a stone niche of the palace of Darius the Great added his own epigraph to the history of Persepolis. "G. N. Curzon," he scratched, "1889."' Rose 226.

Similarly, Robert Byron in *Europe in the Looking-Glass* writes of graffiti in Greece that 'despite the vandalism and irreverence of which they seem symbolic, there is often something strangely touching about the names that are to be found on ancient monuments.' Robert Byron, *Europe in the Looking-Glass* (London: Hesperus Press, Ltd., 2012), p.205.
[57] *Persia*, Vol. II, 142.
[58] *Persia*, Vol. II, 189.

plural is intended to shape his readers' responses too: 'It is… when we come to the sculptures of the staircases… that we see the Persian architect at his most original and his best… we may congratulate the Persian artist upon his slow, but very perceptible, advance along the pathway of genuine artistic progress.'[59] He writes on the phase of art evident at Naksh-i-Rustam and Naksh-i-Rejeb, criticising 'its defects of proportion, design and treatment,' its 'clumsiness and ponderous solidity,' and 'a want of higher imagination.' Yet, 'for all that, we may observe in the work of the Sassanian artists a decided originality of conception, and a consciousness of the dignity of art.'[60] Curzon invites the traveller to embrace an imaginative reconstruction of the site, suggesting that: 'every hour passed in scrutiny is a degree of admiration gained; until reconstructing in fancy, from the dismembered skeleton before us, the original Persepolis, glittering and pompous, as it emerged from the hands of Darius and Xerxes, we can well believe that no more sumptuous framework of regal magnificence was ever wrought by man.'[61] The transience of this regal magnificence leads him to speculate, as do so many other British travel-writers on Persia, the motive behind Alexander's destruction of the palace: 'either, if the Greek historians are to be believed, the drunken freak of the conqueror, or, more probably, the act of a merciless but deliberate premeditation.'[62] A quotation from Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* posits Thaïs as 'another Helen,' thus contributing poetic adaptations of available sources to Curzon's own historical research.[63] Curzon considers the Achaemenid dynasty to have been 'splendid while it lasted, but it had within it no organic life.'[64] His chapter concludes:

> To us it is instinct with the solemn lesson of the ages; it takes its place in the chapter of things that have ceased to be; and its mute stones find a voice, and address us with the ineffable pathos of ruin.[65]

On the tomb of Darius, Curzon writes: 'The "writing on the wall" has suffered a good deal in the lapse of time, particularly so the Persian text.'[66] This 'writing on the wall,' a Biblical foreteller of the end of an empire, is transferred from Mesopotamia where it

[59] *Persia*, Vol. II, 194.
[60] *Persia*, Vol. II, 128.
[61] *Persia*, Vol. II, 153.
[62] *Persia*, Vol. II, 181.
[63] *Persia*, Vol. II, 185.
[64] *Persia*, Vol. II, 195.
[65] *Persia*, Vol. II, 196
[66] *Persia*, Vol. II, 139.

foretold the end of the Babylonian Empire, to Persia. With his pathos-filled presentation of the ruins of Persepolis, Curzon's chapter leaves the reader mourning the former glory of Persia, and, perhaps, sceptical of imperial hubris.

Similar stylistic features are evident in Curzon's presentation of Teheran: the use of the vivid present tense to engage with the reader[67]; an imaginative reconstruction of the old city, particularly in the late eighteenth century; and pedantic quibbling over other travellers' conclusions, such as whether Teheran is an old or new city.[68] Curzon writes of an estimated five hundred Europeans in Teheran, including 'the diplomats, the officers of the Telegraph Department, a few Austrian and Russian officers in the army, and one or two other employés [sic] of the Persian Government… the missionaries, the merchants, and the few globe-trotters who may be annually driven by a vagabond fancy to Teheran.'[69] Moreover, the city is rapidly changing, being 'Europeanised upon Asiatic lines': 'we are in a city which was born and nurtured in the East, but is beginning to clothe itself at a West-End tailor's.'[70] The bazaars '…in arrangement, width of passage, size of shops, and general structural convenience… are in advance of almost any Oriental bazaar that I have elsewhere seen, though inferior to those which I afterwards saw at Isfahan and Shiraz,' but will disappoint the curio hunter.[71] Shopping for 'curios' is not beneath the interest of this work, not because one can imagine Curzon hunting souvenirs, but because it is an act that can be evaluated, and upon which advice can be dispensed, in a guide-book. Aesthetically, he warns travellers that the city gates, although they present 'from a distance a showy appearance, which has caused to some incoming travellers paroxysms of delight, closer inspection shows that they are faced with modern glazed tiles, in glittering and frequently vulgar patterns.'[72] He warns that: 'The street scenes in Teheran are not to be compared, from the artistic point of view, with those that may be witnessed either in the great Indian cities or in the old capitals of central Asia'.[73] Similarly, the Shah's Palace is dismissed: 'from a distance this building has a most

[67] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 306. Similarly, Browne '...some of my readers may desire to obtain a clearer notion of... the present capital of Persia. Let me ask them then, to accompany me in imagination for a stroll through the northern quarter of the city... We will begin our walk...' *A Year Amongst the Persians* 92.
[68] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 304 and Vol. 1, 300.
[69] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 334.
[70] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 306.
[71] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 331.
[72] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 306.
[73] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 331.

imposing appearance' but 'the Persians entertain the most grotesque notions of architectural importance, and have been known to assert its superiority to Windsor Castle or Versailles. A nearer approach dissipates the fond but foolish illusion.'[74]

Curzon's three visits to the State Rooms contrast with Ella Sykes' experience of the royal *anderoon* or women's quarters.[75] Curzon takes his visit to the Treasury as invitation to criticize the economic status quo in Persia. The crown jewels, over which Sackville-West marvelled some thirty years later, and which are now a tourist attraction, are extraordinary: 'the infinity of gems, cut, uncut, or set in every variety of fashion… a square glass case contains a vast heap of pearls, four or five inches deep, into which one can plunge the hand and spill them in cascades and handfuls.'[76] There is also a geographical globe of jewels, whose value is estimated by Curzon at £947,000.[77] Curzon excoriates the inequalities of Persia:

> In a country that is always bewailing its lack of money, and which cries aloud for the regeneration that might so easily spring from the construction or repair of roads, bridges, caravanserais, and other elementary public works, it can excite but one feeling to see all this impotent wealth piled up, secreting beneath a glass case that which would serve to populate entire districts and to enrich great communities. How much worse is it when we know that the treasures here displayed do not stand alone, but are supplemented by hoards of specie and bullion stored in the vaults below, which the lowest estimate values at three millions sterling and the highest I will not say at what figure. Patriotism need not be so very difficult an attribute in royalty, when it is able to stop short of the treasure-house and the money-bags.[78]

The fact that this passage was allowed to remain, unlike Curzon's description of the Shah's wife, suggests that such criticism was commonly held. This is not a socialist argument from a conservative politician, raised in a grand ancestral home; rather, Curzon's description suggests the feudal nature of Persian society, thus denying the economy coevality with the West. The presentation of the Shah's extreme and 'impotent' wealth enables Curzon to caricaturize him as a type of despot, familiar from *Arabian Nights*. The 'but one feeling' is gently insisted upon in his attempt to

[74] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 340.
[75] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 313.
[76] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 314.
[77] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 315.
[78] *Persia*, Vol. 1, 317. I believe that Kenneth Rose overlooks the significance of this statement when he writes the following: 'So glittering an Aladdin's cave might predictably have prompted him to display his most ornamental style, his most plethoric vocabulary. Instead he delivers a sombre sermon on the evils of hoarded riches and the neglected claims of material progress.' I believe what Curzon says is more significant than the way he says it, and dispute the term 'sombre'. Rose 223.

control reader response; the careful evasion of the highest estimate leads the reader to speculate wildly; and the final sentence shows subtle sarcasm, moving from the lofty 'patriotism' to the crass 'money-bags.' Such careful writing is consistent throughout both volumes, and marks a shift from Curzon's proclaimed 'diffidence' when addressing Persian finances in his *Times* letters.[79]

In contrast with his depictions of Persepolis and Teheran, when travelling through the rural areas of Persia Curzon comes close to expressing an effusive love of travel, which contrasts with his lifestyle at home:

> Perhaps it is that in the wide landscape, in the plains stretching without break to mountains, and the mountains succeeded by plains, in the routes that are without roads, in the roads that are without banks or ditches, in the unhampered choice both of means of progression and of pace, there is a joyous revulsion from the sterile conventionality of life and locomotion at home. Some, too, must be set down to the gratified spirit of self-dependence, which legions of domestics have not availed to subdue, and to the love of adventure, which not even the nineteenth century can extinguish. Or is it that in the East, and amid scenes where life and its environment have not varied for thousands of years, where nomad Abrahams still wander with their flocks and herds, where Rebecca still dips her water skin at the well, where savage forays perpetuate the homeless miseries of Job, western man casts off the slough of an artificial civilisation, and feels that he is mixing again with his ancestral stock, and breathing that atmosphere that nurtured his kind?[80]

This passage encapsulates a passion for independence and space, and a typical denial of the coevality of the East through Biblical references. The assumption of an unchanging East in the face of rapidly industrialising Britain suits the construction of forward-looking European countries guiding Persia that Curzon advocates. A brief overview of the rest of the text suffices here to signal its breadth and comprehensiveness. Chapters focus on specific regions or cities – 'Meshed,' or 'From Kuchan to Kelat-i-Nadiri' – or more general issues, such as 'Politics and Commerce of Khorasan,' 'The Seistan Question,' 'The Shah – Royal Family – Ministers,' 'The Army' and 'The Railway.' Examples from Volume II include 'From Teheran to Isfahan,' 'From Isfahan to Shiraz,' 'The Navy,' two chapters on 'Commerce and Trade,' and finally, 'British and Russian Policy in Persia.' The final chapter expresses most clearly Curzon's anxieties about the future of Persia, reading the space in terms

[79] Letter 13, 'Revenue, Resources, and Trade', *The Times*, February 28th 1890, p.13. Browne could write more freely of the Shah as 'a selfish despot.' *A Year Amongst the Persians* 90-1.
[80] *Persia*, Vol. I, 12-3.

drawn from the Great Game discourse of the nineteenth century. Such synoptic political analysis is hereafter often attached to British travelogues on Persia.

This section has considered Curzon's *Persia* not solely from the perspective of his biography and political career, but in terms of its literary merits and impact. While monumental in scale, reading the work is not wholly, as he once termed it, akin to 'penal servitude.' There are moments of vivid humour and artistic insight combined with political commentary. Its comprehensiveness and multi-genre form led to its substantial and sustained impact upon British understanding of and travelogues on Persia for many years. It is worth noting the words of Harold Nicolson, Vita Sackville-West's husband and Curzon's biographer, on Curzon's relationship with Persia. Nicolson writes 'Curzon was drawn to Persia by every fibre of his faith and temperament' and sympathises with Curzon's ongoing fascination with the country:

> …a phenomenon familiar to all those who have travelled or have lived in Persia is that their minds remain forever haunted by those plains of amber, those peaks of amethyst, the dignity of that crumbled magnificence, that silence of two thousand years. As a romanticist, and not only as an egoist, Curzon could not remain immune to such persuasive associations.
>
> Essentially, however, his constant preoccupation with Persia arose from the 'main love' of his political life, was centred on his Indian obsession.[81]

Like the *Sunday Sun* review's perception of the text's 'uncompromising egotism' Nicolson labels Curzon an 'egoist', interpretations which point to the career-oriented lens through which Curzon viewed Persia. His knowledge of Persia contributed to his suitability for the position of Viceroy of India. In contrast, for Ella Sykes, her knowledge of and time in India were entirely secondary to her three years in Persia, and it is to that experience that this chapter now turns.

[81] Harold Nicolson, *Curzon: The Last Phase, 1919-1925, A Study in Post-War Diplomacy* (London: Constable & Co Ltd, 1934), pp.120-1.

1.3 Ella Sykes: Adventure and Propriety

I can never forget my feelings of joy and exultation when I realised that I was at last in Persia, on the threshold of a new life, which I ardently trusted might have its quantum of adventure. I had been civilised all my days, and now I had a sense of freedom and expansion which quickened the blood and made the pulse beat high.[82]

Prior to her departure with her younger brother Percy in 1894, a year after the death of their father, Ella Sykes had never left Europe. She was thirty-one, as Curzon had been in 1890. Her 350-page memoir *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle* reveals the gendered differences in British *fin-de-siècle* accounts of Persia in comparison with Curzon. Furthermore, Sykes' text contrasts with Curzon on account of the period of relative stasis in her experience of Persia, as she and her brother settled in Kerman for many months, and Ella ran the domestic side of the consulate. Sykes therefore, like many women writing on their experience of empire, considers matters such as servants, and shows what hobbies a British woman in Persia could adopt. Her text presents a scintillating narrative, replete with details of her adventurous and ground-breaking travel, but cautiously presents propriety too. While Curzon's text is implicitly, for the most part, directed towards British males who might undertake administrative work in Persia, Sykes' is directed towards British women who might follow in her footsteps. It is not, however, solely an advisory work; sections of her writing imply an appreciation of travel-writing on its own terms, rather than viewing it as a lesser genre.

Sykes attended Lady Margaret Hall Oxford during 1881-3, where she passed her second women's examination in Latin and History in June 1883.[83] Dea Birkett's words on Sykes' contemporary Mary Kingsley, a prominent British travel-writer, also apply to Ella: 'by the 1890s, almost one in three of all adult women were unwed, and one in four would never marry …it is a mistake to presume that Mary was unfortunate in not being married; she seems to have actively chosen to be a spinster.'[84] Ella's nephew-in-law, Sir Patrick Reilly, supports this interpretation, saying she 'was not interested in men or settling down to a conventional married life, but was interested in

[82] Ella Sykes, *Through Persia* (London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1898), p.3.
[83] White Register, LMH Archives, Press 3, Shelf 3, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford University. By Kind Permission of the Principal and Fellows of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
[84] Dea Birkett, *Mary Kingsley: Imperial Adventuress* (London: McMillan, 1992), p.14.

travel – the more adventurous the better.' As Antony Wynn notes, he offers an alternative explanation too: 'Using a rather delicious expression, Sir Patrick confided that some of the family thought she might be "Lebanese".'[85] Reilly considers her to have been a blue stocking, a term which an obituary in *The Times* refuted as too stringent.[86] She was certainly 'tough.'[87] The British government's invitation to the bachelor Percy to found a consulate in Kerman, and his need for a house-keeper figure, was thus a fortuitous event for Ella. For Percy, following his early army career and independent travels in Persia in 1893-4, the consular position was a natural career progression.[88] For Ella, the journey opened career possibilities, including work as a travel writer, and membership of many London societies. The journey to Persia was to some degree an emancipatory experience, yet Ella remained under the control of her brother. Her route through Persia was shaped by Percy's previous experiences, and her movement in urban environments heavily curtailed by her brother's concerns. In contrast, Isabella Bishop had travelled in Persia in 1890 aged nearly sixty, choosing her own routes and using the chador as disguise to make her way around the city of Qom.[89]

Through Persia refers to Curzon's work both explicitly and implicitly almost immediately, demonstrating she had undertaken the 'penal servitude' of reading it. Although conceding that the work is 'comprehensive', Sykes reveals the book's effect on her thus: 'Visions of many a fatigue and hardship rose up in my mind's eye, long days on horseback, short nights in desolate caravanserai or airy tent, the glory of the dawn, and the crimson flush of the sunset.' (3) Sykes thus offers evidence that Curzon's work was read by his contemporaries as an exotic and inspiring travelogue, against his stated primary aims. Sykes mentions just a handful of other travel-writers by name, preeminent amongst them Curzon and Isabella Bishop. In contrast with Curzon's dedication which requests his work be read in terms of the British Empire, Sykes' dedication is quite simply 'to the many friends whose great kindness made my

[85] Antony Wynn, *Persia in the Great Game: Sir Percy Sykes – Explorer, Consul, Soldier, Spy,* (London: John Murray, 2003), p.39.
[86] An obituary in *The Times* refutes the term: 'it is for her amiable disposition that her many friends will best remember her. She was no blue-stocking. Kindly, cheerful, sympathetic, and practical, she won the affectionate regard of all who knew her.' "H.S.", *The Times*, 29th March 1939, p.9.
[87] Wynn 39.
[88] Martin Bunton, 'Sykes, Sir Percy Molesworth (1867–1945)', *ODNB*, OUP, September 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36395, accessed 24 November 2009].
[89] Isabella Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* (London: John Murray, 1891).

travels in Persia so pleasant,' giving the book an intimate and personal tone. (iii) Her Preface also makes quite different claims:

> This book has no pretensions to be either historical, scientific, or political, being merely the record of a very happy period of my existence, which I have, in a way, re-lived by writing about it.
>
> My information, however, may claim to be correct as far as it goes, my brother, Captain Sykes, who has travelled for some years in Persia on Government service, having revised my manuscript.
>
> As I believe that I am the first European woman who has visited Kerman and Persian Baluchistan, my experiences may perhaps interest other women who feel the "Wanderlust" but are unable to gratify their longing for adventure. (Preface, v)

The list of subjects Sykes avoids – historical, scientific or political matters – is almost certainly an oblique reference to Curzon's encyclopaedic Preface, in recognition of the status *Persia* held, as well as supposedly appropriate feminine self-deprecation, at odds with some of the achievements of her trip. Sykes prioritizes not the exhaustive factual focus, but the personal. There is something much more imaginative in her concept of reliving these experiences through the act of creating this life-writing. Moreover, this Preface implies an appreciation of travelogues centred on a first-person narrative, unlike Curzon's anxieties about the travelogue. The final sentence of the Preface echoes Bishop's dedication in *Journeys*: 'To The Untravelled Many, these volumes are cordially dedicated.'[90] Like Sykes, Bishop explicitly avoids the political and economic details of the country because of the all-encompassing nature of Curzon's work, although in Bishop's case, she took this measure before *Persia* was published.[91] The behemoth *Persia* pressures these women – even more than they would perhaps have done previously – to consign their work to "feminine" concerns, rather than masculine spheres of history, science and politics.

Percy's revision of Ella's manuscript leaves unresolved the identity of an old friend of his whose name his sister forgot, and one wonders therefore how comprehensive his editing was. In his Preface to his work *Ten Thousand Miles In Persia*, Percy notes 'many friends… who have read through the whole of my proofs', including 'Miss Sykes'.[92] This remote tone towards siblings is present in *Through Persia*, in which

[90] Bishop, *Journeys*, Dedication, v.
[91] Bishop, *Journeys*, Vol. I, 'Preface', viii.
[92] *Ten Thousand* x.

Ella never uses the name Percy, and usually refers to him as 'my brother' or 'the Consul'. In his Preface Percy continues 'Miss E. R. Sykes [Ethel, their younger sister] has drawn the headings to chapters from objects in my collection…'[93] The siblings Ella and Percy collaborated later on another book, *Through deserts and oases of Central Asia*, which describes their journey through Russia to Tashkent, where Percy had a diplomatic posting.[94] One notes the tentative 'through' in both titles that Ella worked on, whereas Percy's independent work situates itself with great strength 'in' the region. The publication of *Through Persia* enabled Percy to market his £3 3s. 'Patent Tent and Sleeping Valise', 'invaluable for officers on active service, and for all travellers going abroad or on sporting expeditions' in the back pages. Percy's presence thus looms over Ella's text, but not simply as a way for Ella to establish her 'credibility' through affiliation with 'a respected figure of colonial officialdom' as Nima Naghibi has suggested.[95] Collaboration was evidently welcomed in the Sykes family.

Sykes' literary references primarily stem from creative genres including travel-writing and poetry, unlike Curzon's work. Her opening sentence calls upon Alexander Kinglake's 1844 bestseller *Eothen*, 'that most delightful book of travels' which makes 'the indescribable attraction of the Orient… if possible, stronger than before.' (1) Sykes' fascination with the east is textual in basis. Alongside travelogues, Sykes speaks of Thomas Moore's 1817 poem:

> "Lalla Rookh," with its rose gardens in which the "bulbul" eternally sings, and its maids of peerless beauty, loved by heroes of surpassing valour, with its brave fire-worshippers and awful Veiled Prophet, came into my mind, mingled with a dozen books of travel, in which the romance is stripped away remorselessly, and Persia, bare and barren as she is in reality, is exposed to the view.[96]

Such writing strengthens the conclusion that for Sykes travel-writing is a valued independent genre, and already a quite popular and populous field in terms of Persia.

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[93] *Ten Thousand* x. Ethel contributed illustrations to one of Ella's later works: Ella C. Sykes, *The story-book of the Shah or, Legends of old Persia*, with illustrations by Claude Cooper and decorations by Ethel R. Sykes, from Persian sources (London: J. Macqueen, 1901). See also: Ethel R. Sykes, *Readings from Indian History for boys and girls* (London: C.L.S.I., 1915).
[94] Ella Sykes, with Percy Sykes, *Through deserts and oases of Central Asia* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1920).
[95] Nima Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western feminism and Iran* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), p.15.
[96] *Through Persia* 3. Moore is also cited by Curzon in the epigraph to Chapter 5, Vol. I.

References to earlier travel writers and fictional texts are for Sykes affirmative actions, including references to Persian poets: 'As my brother quoted to me from the "Gulistan" of Sadi: "Not only the nightingale in the rose-bushes sings his hymn of praise, but every thorn is itself a voice of adoration to the Deity."' (59) She also assembles layers of myths and writing in her histories of Kerman, blending genres in a celebration of variance. Explaining the etymology of Kerman, she cites Firdusi's *Shah Nameh*, Mr. Stack's *Six Months in Persia* and a local legend.[97] (104-5) This inclusive style is not dissimilar to Curzon's multi-layered text, but Sykes does not pass judgment on other writers as Curzon does. Her literary focus is also evident in her careful collecting and citation of useful Persian words, particularly those related to housekeeping, and various Persian sayings. Much of Sykes' knowledge here stems from Nasrullah Khan, one of the siblings' servants. Sykes' integration of local terms for generally household matters points to her implied reader, and her emphasis on contemporary Persian phrases and parables suggests a respect for the Persians she encounters. Local folklore was also a source of interest for her in Turkestan.[98]

As the literary aspects of Sykes' work contrast with Curzon's, so do the visual elements of her travelogue. *Through Persia* contains just one small map, measuring thirty by twenty-five centimetres, with comparatively little detail, and Ella's route marked in red. The text also contains thirty-one full-page photographs including a frontispiece of Ella herself in an exotically patterned dress, but clearly in England. This self-presentation seeks to shape the audience's expectations of the work as well as the personality of the writer, and contrasts sharply with the actual appearance of Ella and her brother on the road, as an image from the family archive makes clear. The studio portrait of Sykes was taken by leading society photographer Alice Hughes, who had a successful independent career and was interested in the 'feminist movement.'[99] The gentle portrait of Ella shows Hughes' 'aesthetic preferences' in the female subject and creation of 'a flattering idyll,' which belies Sykes' travel achievements and instead presents an image of propriety.[100]

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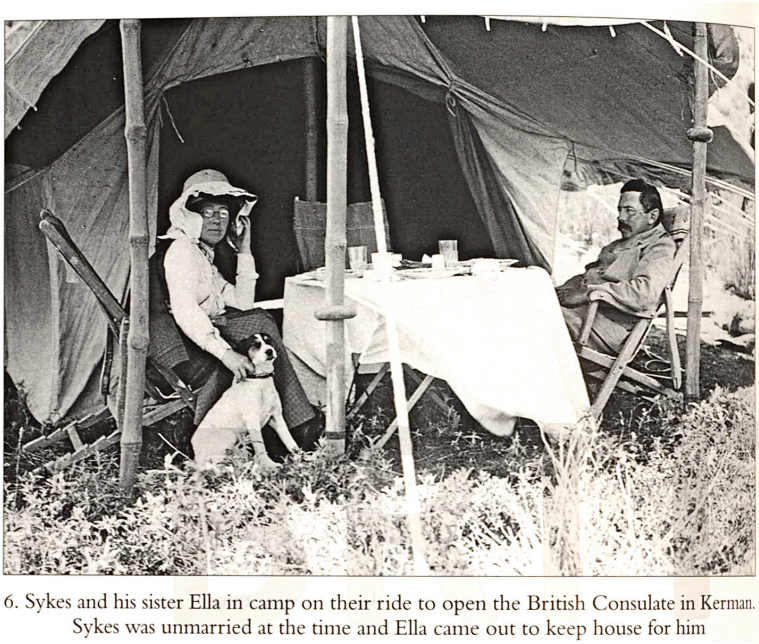
[97] Edward Stack, *Six Months in Persia* (Sampson Low, 1882).
[98] Ella Sykes, 'Notes on the Folklore of Chinese Turkestan,' *Folklore*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Sep. 30, 1924), 249-261.
[99] Alice Hughes, *My Father and I* (London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1923), p.116.
[100] Juliet Hacking, 'Hughes, Alice Mary (1857–1939)', *ODNB*, OUP, September 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65306, accessed 1 October 2009].


SKETCH MAP
of
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN & BELUCHISTAN
to illustrate the Journey of
CAPT.& MISS SYKES.
Dec. 1893 to Mar. 1897.
Nat. Scale, 1 8000000 = 126 Miles to 1 inch.
English Miles
Heights in English feet.
Railways thus
By permission of the Royal Geographical Society.
Author's Journey
A.D. Jones & Co.
J. & C. Walker, R.G.S.
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
BELUCHISTAN
ARABISTAN
KHORASAN
DASHT-I-KAVIR
DASHT-I-LUT
GULF OF OMAN
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN SEA
BOKHARA
RUSSIA
TURKEY
TEHRAN
ISPAHAN
KABUL
KANDAHAR
QUETTA
KALAT
BOKHARA
SAMARKAND
MESHED
HERAT
YEZD
KERMAN
BUSHIRE
BAHREIN
BUSRAH
BAGHDAD
TABRIZ
RESHT
BAKU
ASTRABAD
KASHAN
SHIRAZ
BUNDER ABBAS
JASK
GWADUR
KARACHI
HYDERABAD
JASK
Kuh Nodshan
Kuh-i-Lakhar 13,700
Kuh-i-Panoch 4725
Kuh-i-Taftan 12,850 (Casket)
Kuh-i-Bazman 10,240
Kuh-i-Hazar 13,460
Kuh-i-Jupar 11,000
Kuh-i-Dinar 12,000
Kuh-i-Kuh 11,000
Kuh-i-Kuh 11,000
Kuh-i-Kuh 11

***Figure 6 - frontispiece to* Through Persia on a Side-Saddle**



6. Sykes and his sister Ella in camp on their ride to open the British Consulate in Kerman. Sykes was unmarried at the time and Ella came out to keep house for him

***Figure 7 - Plate 6, Antony Wynn,* Persia in the Great Game**

There are two main areas of Sykes' text which convey her particular combination of adventure and propriety: her representation of the mobility of women, both European and Persian; and her description of running a home in Kerman, with its implications of the challenges other British women might face, and the ways they might occupy their time. During her brief stay in Teheran Sykes sees the high status held by Lady Durand, wife of the British Minister in Persia, and the siblings' host. Lady Durand takes precedence over the Shah's wives in the palace, and converses with him in French. (19) Lady Durand contributes to British diplomatic prestige in Persia, and Sykes similarly maintains the formal behaviour of the expatriate community in Teheran, throughout the deserts of Persia and in remote Kerman. One marker of her conformity is her continued use of a side-saddle, to the bewilderment of Persians: 'I heard afterwards that I was a great attraction, as it passed their comprehension how I could sit on a horse sideways and not come off when I cantered.' (78) Percy's biographer writes that: 'Out of a sense of propriety Ella always rode on her side-saddle when in public view, although she far preferred to ride astride like a man.'[101] Isabella Bird had abandoned the side-saddle in Hawaii in the early 1870s, following local custom, and henceforth, says her biographer, 'could ride anywhere, on any mount, in perfect comfort.'[102] In *A Girl's Ride in Iceland* (1889) the popular travel-writer Ethel Tweedie initially accepts advice which states that 'a small English side-saddle and bridle would be not only a most useful addition to a lady's luggage, but add much to her safety and comfort.'[103] Before long, however, she is 'compelled to adopt' men's saddles, and offers a fulsome explanation of her experiences and new conclusion.[104] It suffices here to note Tweedie's passionate conclusion:

> Riding man-fashion is less tiring than on a side-saddle, and I soon found it far more agreeable, especially when traversing rough ground…
>
> The crooked position of a side-saddle—for one must sit crooked to look straight—is very fatiguing to a weak back, and many women to whom the exercise would be of the greatest benefit, cannot stand the strain; so this healthy mode of exercise is debarred them, because Society says they must not ride like men. Society is a hard task master. …

[101] Wynn 43.
[102] Dorothy Middleton, 'Bishop [Bird], Isabella Lucy (1831–1904)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, May 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31904, accessed 29 September 2009]
[103] Ethel B. Harley, *A Girl's Ride in Iceland* (London and Sidney: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1889), p.47. Elizabeth Baigent, 'Tweedie , Ethel Brilliana (1862–1940)', *ODNB*, OUP, September 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45559, accessed 7 October 2009]
[104] Harley 38.

> For comfort and safety, I say ride like a man.[105]

With this *cri de coeur* existent, from a professional female traveller writer, whose travel was also enabled by fraternal rather than conjugal aid, there seems little reason for Sykes to have adopted the side-saddle, and to have proclaimed it so prominently in her work's title. The femininity thus conveyed perhaps echoes Harley's choice of the diminutive 'girl' rather than woman, despite being twenty-seven by the date of publication. Thus Sykes presents herself as a paragon of propriety whilst abroad, and Percy too contributes to this preservation of the pure British woman.

Throughout their journeys, Percy protectively isolates Ella. In Qom, Ella keeps to their rooms which 'opened on to a broad expanse of roof, where I sat most of the day and sketched the wonderful mosque.' (39) Qom is home to the shrine of Fatima, sister of the eighth Imam in Shia Islam, and was considered a fanatical and even potentially dangerous place for Europeans, women in particular. Sykes writes that an attempt to visit the mosque:

> …would have been almost certain death in one of the most fanatical cities of Persia, where the wife of the telegraph clerk was accustomed to go about clad as a Persian woman, that being the only way to secure her from insult. Mrs. Bishop, in her book on Persia, gives an amusing account of how she borrowed the aforesaid dress, and her adventures as she shuffled about the city in it. (40)

For reasons not made explicit, Ella is less adventurous than the resident clerk's wife or Isabella Bishop: perhaps because she is unmarried, and travelling in an only semi-official role; perhaps because Percy restricts her movements. Bishop writes of passing 'unnoticed' through the streets twice 'safely' in the 'disguise' of 'a Persian woman of the middle class… a thick white *crêpe* veil with open stitch in front of the eyes, a black sheet covering me from head to foot.'[106] Bishop utilises the chador as liberating agent to integrate herself into the cityscape, freeing herself from being a spectacle to enable further exploration. Sykes is never free to do this. Similarly, in Kerman, Ella never enters the city as Percy fears she 'might be mobbed by the populace who had never seen an Englishwoman before.' (103) Percy's wife was similarly restricted from

[105] Harley 67-8.
[106] Bishop, *Journeys*, Vol. I, 214.

entering Meshed where Percy was Consul for eight years from 1905.[107] Percy also blocks doors to Ella's room whenever travelling, even if this meant shutting her in, although similar precautions were impossible in tents. Sykes does not apparently recognise this incarceration, or if she does, she conceals her frustrations from the reader. When reflecting on the similarly restricted mobility of Persian women, however, Sykes is either deeply sympathetic, or dismissive of their concerns.

In Teheran, in contrast with the wives of the Shah she denigrates and with whom she cannot communicate, Sykes meets a Persian woman with whom she can converse and sympathise:

> … a grand European drawing-room… [which] gave me a feeling of surprise that the hostess had not adopted European dress likewise. She was a well-mannered, elderly woman, speaking only Persian, but her daughter-in-law was very different, being a girl of about three- or four-and-twenty, clad in a gorgeous pink brocade, loaded with lace, and made in an ugly European style, her hair fastened back with a ribbon, and diamonds in her ears. She had been educated in Constantinople, spoke French fluently, played the piano passably, and was, I fear, miserable in Tehran, telling me frankly that it was all very well to receive visitors in her own home, but that as she was never permitted to return their visits she found life somewhat dreary. The eunuch brought in a real English tea-tray, and the daughter-in-law poured out tea, handing round milk and sugar quite *à l'Anglaise*, and afterwards we had a stroll in the fine gardens with their fountains and long avenues. I bade goodbye to this Europeanised Persian with regret, feeling that her lot was by no means a happy one, and being reminded of the caged starling in the Bastille that all day long kept crying "Let me out! let me out!" (22)

The cultural crossovers in this encounter are striking: the English woman speaks in French to the Ottoman-educated Persian, who is dressed in European clothes and serves tea as the English do – a fact conveyed in French by our original English writer. The Persian is trapped by cultural conventions, with which the English writer sympathises apparently without recognising the parallels in her own social predicament, and conveys in a reference to a passage set in France, in the Irish-born Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*. A recent editor has argued that *A Sentimental Journey* and *Tristram Shandy* insist 'that travel narrative should be about contact with people rather than the arid documentation of sights seen.'[108] This passage of *Through Persia* concurs with that philosophy of travel writing. The cries of the

[107] Wynn, note to photograph 16, of Percy's wife.
[108] Tim Parnell, 'Introduction', *A Sentimental Journey and other writings*, Laurence Sterne, ed. Ian Jack and Tim Parnell (1768; Oxford: OUP, 2003), p.xxi.

starling in Sterne's novel are initially mistaken for the cries of a child; Yorick the narrator tries in vain to release the bird, and offers an invocation to Liberty, 'thrice sweet and gracious goddess… whom all in public or private worship, whose taste is grateful, and ever wilt be so, till Nature herself shall change.'[109] Sykes' response evokes all this, including the child- or bird-like representation of the woman in purdah. Her comments on the harem contribute to a lineage of women's writing on this topic in this and other regions, and prefigure the activism of Hume-Griffith, explored in see Chapter 2.

In the consulate, the siblings set aside no rooms to function as *anderoon* or women's quarters for Ella's visitors, despite the Persian building that might allow for such a culturally sensitive adjustment. A regular 'lady visitor' and her servant, 'a hideous old Abyssinian negress', are mocked for their rigid adherence to cultural conventions:

> Every now and again the lady would espy one of the labourers in the garden, or some one would come across the courtyard below, and in a second she would envelop herself in her wrap and veil, until the danger, purely imaginary to my eyes, was past. The old negress was far coyer than her mistress, and giggled like the most bashful of schoolgirls, when she disclosed her dusky charms to my feminine gaze. (136)

There is unpleasant sarcastic racism in the shift from 'hideous old Abyssian negress' to 'dusky charms' which reflects the dominant discourse of the era. There is also a mockery of the seriousness with which these women keep purdah, despite the sympathy with the French-speaking lady in Teheran. The elderly son of the former Governor also sends his female relatives to visit, 'in spite of all refusals… and apparently quite callous as to the risks they would run in a house where there was no *anderoon*, or women's apartments.' (138) Sykes' dismissal of their concerns sits at odds with her acceptance of her brother's careful protection or isolation of her throughout her time in Persia. During Sykes' adventurous travels, she seems to pity or even despise women who remain secluded, no matter the religious or cultural significance of such segregation. Moreover, Sykes does not recognise the deep irony of her pitying of such women, and certain curtailments in her own experience of Persia. Indeed, for all the ground-breaking travel and adventure, propriety often takes

[109] Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey*, (Oxford: OUP, 2003), p.60.

pre-eminence, and this is particularly evident in Sykes' role in running the domestic side of the consulate.

Anglo-Persian interactions in the shape of master/servant relationships form a considerable element of Sykes' work. As Nima Naghibi comments, Sykes' practice and text thus show the 'taxing work of domestic colonization.'[110] In Teheran, the expat community's conversations revolve around 'the thievish propensities, uncleanly [sic] habits, and numberless other delinquencies of the Persian servant.' (27) This antagonism is expressed in one woman's desire to kill her cook. (92) Patronising amusement abounds over a pictorial account-book created by one illiterate Persian, with pictures for various food, and another cook's copious use of Eno's Fruit Salts as 'a particularly good baking-powder.'[111] Sykes gathers with some trepidation that: 'all the Persian servants [have] a great respect for the Feringhee Sahib, and very little for the *khanum* (mistress), unless she has a man to back up her authority.' (28) 'Khanum' is a transliteration of a Persia term for a lady of rank, first used in English in Morier's *Haji Baba*, published in 1824. The term 'Feringhee' is an adaptation of Frank, for Europeans, with the Arabic suffix –i; it was the 'ordinary' Indian term for a European, and is here coupled with 'sahib', a respectful title used by Indians for Englishmen.[112] Sykes' discourse of Anglo-Persian master/servant relations thus draws on terms from British India, whence Percy Sykes drew some staff. Fakir Mahomet was Percy's 'Indian syce' and seems elated to re-join his master in Persia. (4) Sultan Sukru, 'an Indian cavalry N.C.O., who was to assist in mapping and surveying,' had so impressed Percy in India that he had brought him to London for 'four months' stay' during which he was 'a most conspicuous figure in the streets that summer.' (33) Such an experience was not wholly uncommon, as Rozina Visram has explored; yet still 'for the ordinary Briton, an Indian in Oriental dress was still as much an object of curiosity in the nineteenth century as in the eighteenth.'[113] Only one Persian servant is

[110] Naghibi 16.
[111] *Through Persia* 6. The effervescent powder was a popular remedy for indigestion patented by James Crossley Eno in 1873, and used as a substitute for baking powder. T. A. B. Corley, 'Eno, James Crossley (1827/8–1915)', *ODNB*, OUP, September 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38995, accessed 18 June 2009]. Similar confusion over popular patented items is evident in Bishop's *Journeys*, as the Bakhtiari tribes demand "Condy's fluid" from Bishop's leather medicine box. The fluid was used disinfectant, and Condy's crystals were used in treating snakebites. Ian D. Rae, 'Condy, Henry Bollmann (*bap.* 1826, *d.* 1907)', rev., *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37307, accessed 29 September 2009]
[112] *OED*, Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989): Vol. VIII, 412; Vol. V, 838; Vol. XIV, 370.
[113] Rozina Visram, *Asians in Britain: 400 years of history* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), pp.109-10.

presented in comparable detail, and that is Nasrullah Khan, who enlightens Sykes about many Persian proverbs, and works as Percy's secretary. He is admiringly described as 'a Persian gentleman of good family… who proved a most pleasant addition to our party, being more or less anglicised in his ideas, the result of an education in England.' (31-2) These British educated or British trained servants are granted individual character portraits, and presented as reliable and cosmopolitan. Persian servants who have not travelled abroad and remain un-anglicised, are presented in despairing tones; except for, perhaps, the physically resilient and professional muleteers. Numbers of servants fluctuate from the siblings' 'personal staff… of nine' on the journey to Kerman (33); to at least seventeen at the consulate (see photograph facing page 92); and perhaps in addition to this 'a guard of six men.' (97) Further increase is beyond the Sykes' control: 'as soon as our servants were settled down at Kerman each man started a "slavey" who, as far as I could see, did the entire work, for which he got no money, but was fed with our food as payment… so our staff considerably increased.' (93) Sykes' personal superiority is challenged by this expanding hierarchy: to whom are these 'slaveys' responsible? The mistress of the house, or her servants, becoming masters themselves? Sykes' presentation of these unnamed servants betrays the homogenising pejorative orientalist eye: without exception they are presented as inveterate liars and cheats. Moreover, she stresses the laziness of most of the Persian servants she encounters, which raises the question of her exact duty in Persia.

She claims her servants are 'afflicted with an incurable laziness,' and battling them becomes 'a weariness to the soul.' She must rouse them from 'the masterly inactivity of sleeping and smoking, in which they indulged during the greater part of the day, varying these occupations with incessant chattering which would have put a parrot or monkey to shame, so greatly do Persians excel in this art of *gufti gu*, or gossip.' (92) This phrase, 'masterly inactivity,' recalls the discourse surrounding the Great Game; those of the school of 'masterly inactivity' believed it was preferable to allow Russian forces to overextend their lines of communication, rather than British forces in India to stretch theirs.[114] Mary Kingsley uses the same phrase in *Travels in West Africa*: 'The Igalwa is truly great at sitting, the men pursuing a policy of masterly inactivity,

[114] Hopkirk 6.

broken occasionally by leisurely netting a fishing net…'[115] Kingsley also uses comparisons with European servants to express her sense of the laziness Africans she meets:

> …it is totally impossible for one woman to do the whole work of a house – look after the children, prepare and cook the food, prepare the rubber, carry the same to the markets, fetch the daily supply of water from the stream, cultivate the plantation, &c., &c. Perhaps I should say it is impossible for the dilatory African woman, for I once had an Irish charwoman, who drank, who would have done the whole week's work of an African village in an afternoon.[116]

Kingsley's work was first published in 1897; perhaps upon her return to England Sykes resumed reading travel books and was influenced by Kingsley's turn of phrase. It is also possible that the trope of foreign servants as slower than British, Irish or European equivalents was deeply ingrained in women's travel-writing of the period. Given her role as housekeeper figure, one questions Sykes' petulance at having to run the home: chivvying along the servants is her precise *raison d'être* in Persia, and a proportionate responsibility given the extreme good fortune with which she initially viewed the adventure of travelling there. Naghibi argues that through this work of domestic colonization, Sykes presents herself as 'a loyal servant of the Empire.'[117] This is a problematic conclusion, not least because of the independence of Persia, and also Sykes' obvious frustrations with the role she must fulfil. Sykes' position is problematic: a trailblazer for women, yet working on behalf of a male relative in Persia, this being at odds with her own independence as suggested by her studies in Oxford, and her later life in England. The traditional feminine role of homemaker in the quasi-imperial sphere was not, perhaps, what she envisaged upon first leaving England. Another possible interpretation is that the significant change in status Ella undergoes as mistress of the consulate negatively affects her. Archival research reveals that the Sykes family had in England one housemaid and one parlour-maid only.[118] Sykes makes clear she has not had to iron before (95), but the sudden

[115] Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa: Congo Français, Corisco and Cameroons* (1897; London: Virago, 1982), p.220.
[116] Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* 212.
[117] Naghibi 18.
[118] Source Citation: Class: *RG12*; Piece: *910*; *Folio 9*; *Page 11*; GSU roll: *6096020*. Source Information: Ancestry.com. *1891 England Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 2005. Original data: *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1891*. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), 1891. Accessed 24 April 2009.

elevation to mistress of perhaps twenty men unleashes a snobbery at odds with her open-mindedness towards travel, and the closeted women she met in Teheran. Perhaps, furthermore, she mimics the attitudes of the other Europeans she meets in Persia, those for whom 'the "servant question"' provokes such 'an intense irritation of the nerves, engendered by struggling with these lazy Orientals.' (92)

Sykes rues that there is 'seldom much personal attachment between master and servant, such as is the rule in India,' but comes to express some fondness for one "Oriental" at least, her maid: 'one of the despised *Gabres*, or Fire-worshippers.' (139) Unlike Percy's named servants, Ella's maid is given only a generic label: '*Bargi*, as I called her (a Turkish word meaning sister, and always used by Europeans when addressing their maids), was a pretty little woman, and toddled about in baggy white trousers'. (139) Naghibi has analysed the relationship between Sykes and Bargi (whom Naghibi calls "Baji"), and focuses on the maid's regular requests for Sykes' soap which she hopes might whiten her skin. Naghibi considers soap's 'highly overdetermined imperial connotations' in the late nineteenth century, through Pears advertising in particular.[119] Arguably Naghibi goes too far in suggesting that 'Baji's rejection here of the inherent "whiteness," "cleanliness," and consequently moral superiority of Europeans is a radical rejection of imperial ideology.'[120] For one thing, Kerman was not part of the colonial sphere, and one must doubt whether Bargi's knowledge of empires would extend to a desire to reject 'imperial ideology.' Ella was, after all, the first British woman in Kerman, and Percy's consulate the first British outpost in the city. One phrase which Naghibi does not analyse requires exploration: 'certainly [Bargi] was an example of the Persian saying, "Man is slave to his benefactor."' (140) For all Sykes' praise of Bargi and impressive knowledge of Persian sayings, this phrase is problematic, presenting Bargi as 'slave' to the benevolent European 'benefactor' who might in fact be interpreted as exploiter. Moreover, Sykes fails to comprehend fully Bargi's religious belief, despite her two-page description of Zoroastrianism and her visits to the Towers of Silence. She writes dismissively: 'of religion she had none, as far as I could find out, except a respect for fire, extinguishing a candle or match with her fingers… as human breath would be a pollution to the sacred element.' (141) Sykes' failure to comprehend Zoroastrianism

[119] Naghibi 17.
[120] Ibid.

would offer Naghibi more arsenal for her critique of this "intrepid adventuress." Sykes finds Bargi 'totally incapable of understanding [the rudiments of our religion] as her brain-power was about equal, if not inferior, to that of Diana', the Sykes' dog. (142) She continues: 'It may be heresy to say it, but it seemed throughout my stay in the East that our religion was one far beyond a race which was really only sufficiently civilised to comprehend and be bound by the rigid fetters of Islamism.' (142) This homogenising attitude is deeply problematic; Sykes fails to acknowledge the range of Islamic belief they encounter in Persia. The Sykeses have the local missionary Mr. Carless give a service every Sunday in their sitting room (142), but Bargi apparently believes Ella is a 'Mohammedan, as she knew for certain that I was not Parsee.' (142) Despite these confusions, Sykes emphatically ends a chapter on Bargi with the praise: 'Centuries of oppression seem powerless to really degrade this race [Parsees], and the very Persians who consider their touch a defilement give them the highest character for honesty,' a trait corroborated by Ella's own experiences with her maid. (143)

In contrast with this vexed depiction of the tribulations of running a home in Persia, Sykes presents the experience as positive in two ways: the variety of hobbies she adopts to fill her time, and her exuberance at travel. A chapter entitled "Olla Podrida," derived from Spanish and meaning a diverse mixture of things or elements, includes: information on festivals and holidays; insects, birds and bats in the Sykeses' garden and house; animals brought for Ella to buy, including a rejected mange-ridden baby gazelle; local myths regarding jackals' cries; rose-water; Persian gardens and the irrigation systems; the opium crop; Persian medicine; Ella's afternoon rides around Kerman; and her intense happiness with her lifestyle in Kerman.[121] Like Curzon, Sykes undertakes various research. She also participates in the physical acquisition of Persian culture. She describes collecting fragments of *reflet métallique* pottery, which 'Mr. Reade, of the British Museum, considers… perhaps some of the best *reflet métallique* ever brought to England.' (110) Upon being given 'rare Jiruft partridges' by Sahib Diwan, she sends them to London's 'Zoological Gardens,' which opened to the public in 1847. (135) This text thus calls upon the emergence of the public museums in London, positioning itself at the forefront of British collecting. Incidentally, such collecting raises suspicions in Kerman: 'After this the whole of

[121] The term is also used by Bishop in *Journeys*: '[Ardal village] is an *olla podrida* of dark, poor, smoky mud huts…' 317. *OED, Second Edition,* Vol. X, 780.

Kerman made up its mind that we were after treasure, and I was informed that the interest we excited was great.' (111) Other undertakings including entomology prove ultimately less successful. Sykes claims to discover a new species of wasp which she named '*Odynerus Chawneri*, in honour of my friend, the entomologist' and which 'has the proud distinction of having a special illustration all to itself in a new book on entomology.' (119-20) While the Chawner siblings can be traced to Lyndhurst, Hampshire in the 1890s, also home of the Sykes family, no such wasp can be discovered.[122] Nonetheless this connection with the Chawner siblings – keen entomologists and members of Royal Entomological Society from the late 1890s – hints at Sykes' home life and connection with other intellectual and energetic women. Sykes thus implies through her presentation of her hobbies in her travelogue that other British women could occupy themselves suitably in Persia. Moreover, she emphasises her continued well-being in Persia: 'I had never been so well in all my life before.' (45) Percy, however, succumbs to 'the malignant Shusteri fever' which develops in to pleurisy in the crushing heat of southern Persia. (327) Ella meanwhile mentions only briefly suffering from prickly heat and sandflies. She becomes a better horsewoman, and on the whole manages to keep her early 'firm determination not to worry more than was strictly needful.' (82)

This pluck, determination, and the occasional exuberance of her writing, offer the greatest insight into Sykes' personality, and the impact her travels had on her:

> I can never forget my feelings of joy and exultation when I realised that I was at last in Persia, on the threshold of a new life, which I ardently trusted might have its quantum of adventure. I had been civilised all my days, and now I had a sense of freedom and expansion which quickened the blood and made the pulse beat high. The glamour of the East penetrated me from the first moment of landing on its enchanted shores, and although many a time I encountered hard facts, quite sufficient to destroy the romantic illusions of most folk, yet they struck against mine powerlessly.
>
> I was under a spell throughout my stay in Persia – a spell that endowed me with rose-coloured spectacles, and which even as I write, fills me with a strange yearning for the country which became a much-loved home to me, and where I spent the happiest years of my existence. (3)

[122] Dr. Peter C. Barnard, of the Royal Entomological Society, writes that the wasp would have been named after a man, and says that it seems likely the name was never formally published. Email, 22 December 2009. See *The Avicultural Magazine* for Ethel Chawner's activities, www.archive.org.

She touches upon her happiness again as she emphasises the contrasts between *fin-de-siècle* Persia and Britain, and the new perspective on life her travels have given her. (45) While for Curzon, Persia is a land of anxieties, corruption and potential, for Sykes, Persia is a source of personal joy – at least when one stops thinking about servants. Returning to the concept she first posits in her Preface of reliving her time abroad through writing, near the close of the book she writes:

> …in spite of my pleasure at being home once more, it is difficult to realise that I have, in all probability, left the East for ever; and as I wake up morning after morning to the soft greys and greens and blues of an English landscape, I miss the glow of the floods of golden sunshine that were wont to pour into my room in Persia, and often close my eyes again, to imagine that I am back once more in that well-loved country. (361)

The Athenæm review of *Through Persia* focuses on these exuberant passages, quoting much of the passage beginning 'I can never forget my feelings…' quoted above. Percy is praised for securing 'the services and companionship of so capable and trustworthy an assistant; one not only competent to fill the office of secretary or amanuensis, but also a chronicler of events and discerner of character; one who, true to her own sex in disinterestedness and disregard of self, possessed a power of endurance that would do credit to the harder half of humanity.' Whilst respecting Sykes' endurance and describing the work as 'a volume which has so much to recommend it in easy and even artistic description and general truth of colouring,' the reviewer criticises the 'comparatively trivial' details Sykes includes.[123] This presumably refers to the details on housekeeping, arguably a central concern for Sykes and her implied female reader. *The Bookman* praises the work's 'glowing enthusiasm,' Sykes' writing as 'always lively and entertaining,' and the work's 'impressions both novel and original.'[124] The review from *The Critic* is interesting for its comparison of the work with other, lighter travelogues: '"Through Persia on a Side Saddle" is not one of those ephemeral volumes dashed off by a society woman from London who "does" a country for an outing and then comes back to be lionized for one season.' Moreover, the reviewer considers the work to offer material of interest to 'both feminine and masculine readers.'[125] Both in the depth of Sykes' experience and

[123] *The Athenæm*, No. 3680 (May 7 1898), 592-3.
[124] *The Bookman*, No. 84, Vol. XIV (September, 1898), 170-1.
[125] *The Critic: An illustrated monthly review of Literature, art and life,* Vol. XXXIV, Old Series. No. 859 (January, 1899) (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons), 78-9.

the content which is of interest not only to women but also to men, this review offers high praise. Curzon's work also received favourable reviews, not least from *The Times*, but was excoriated by the *Sunday Sun*: 'Mr. Curzon has done a remarkable deed. He has written a dull book on one of the most interesting subjects in the world.' [126] One result of this comparison of Sykes and Curzon's work is a rehabilitation of a forgotten travelogue which was warmly received in its day but has received minimal critical attention since: the impact of Curzon's stifles recollection of other British travelogues on Persia from the 1890s, even those warmly received upon publication.

1.4 Conclusion

In part due to positive reviews, Sykes' text was republished in 1901. Her experience in Kerman impacted quite specifically on the experience of Mary Hume-Griffith, whose work is explored in the next chapter. Sykes later contributed to *The Geographical Journal*.[127] She joined the Central Asian Society (now the Royal Society for Asian Affairs, RSAA) in 1903, four years before her brother. Later she gave lectures there too, including one in 1914 on the position of women in Iran, which was rebuffed by anti-suffragists in the audience: 'the Chairman, Sir Mortimer Durand [said]: "Miss Sykes has got the idea that the position of women in Persia is not altogether desirable. I don't know; that is a woman's point of view. One thing is certain: ladies in England ought to be satisfied with their position."'[128] Despite Durand's beliefs, similar to Curzon's, in 1916 Ella became the first woman member of Council of the society. She also worked on a committee for sending university women to Canada, and spent six months in that country working mostly as a general servant; in 1912 *A Home-help in Canada* was published, thus extending her life-writing oeuvre.[129] In 1915 Ella worked as housekeeper for Percy again in Persia, this time in Kashgar as he covered the home leave of the Consul General.[130] Also during

[126] 'A Dull Book About Persia,' *Sunday Sun* (June 5, 1892), p.7.
[127] In 1903, 1905, 1910 and 1911. Morag Bell and Cheryl McEwan, 'The Admission of Women Fellows to the Royal Geographical Society, 1892-1914: the Controversy and the Outcome,' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 162, No. 3 (November 1996), 295-312, p.300.
[128] *Strolling About on the Roof of the World*, Hugh Leach with Susan Maria Farrington (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p.101.
[129] Ella Sykes, *A Home-Help in Canada* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1912).
[130] Leach 185.

the war 'she organized canteen work at Étaples.'[131] In 1928 Ella took up the honorary post of librarian at the Central Asian Society for two years.[132] From 1918 to 1925, 'The Most Hon. The Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, KG, GCSI, GCIE', the very same Curzon of *Persia*, was President of the Society. Furthermore, 'In 1926 [Ella] joined the committee of the Mary Curzon Hospital', now the Bowring and Lady Curzon Hospital, in Bangalore.[133] It seems likely that their paths crossed, although I have not been able to verify this. In later life she worked as a mentor to younger writers, without public recognition: 'it is noteworthy that the books which she handled, but on which her name did not appear, were usually an outstanding success.'[134] One in which her name does appear is A. M. Hamilton's *Road Through Kurdistan*, the dedication of which reads: 'I have to thank all those who have so kindly lent me photographs and I wish especially to thank Miss Ella Sykes for her invaluable help in the preparation of this book.'[135] Freya Stark also knew "Archie Hamilton" in Baghdad in 1932.[136] Those who knew of Sykes in the 1930s believed 'it was perhaps her early life with her brother in Iran that she looked back to with most pleasure.'[137] She died in 1939 at the age of seventy-six, having never married. Persia had been for Sykes the opening to a varied career amongst a selection of London societies and other Persophiles and travellers. One of this goals of this exploration of her first travelogue has been to reclaim her significance. This study extends the work of Scott R. Christianson, who has written an entry on Sykes for the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, to suggest that Sykes' *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle* is a fertile source for discussion of matters such as imperial femininity in an ostensibly independent country.[138] It has also sought to negate Elton L. Daniel's dismissive label of her as 'the quaint Ella Sykes.'[139]

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[131] 'Obit. Miss Ella Sykes, FRGS,' *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. XXVI, April, 1939, part II, (pub. The Royal Central Asian Society, 8, Clarges Street, W.I) p.365.
[132] Leach 126.
[133] Jonathan Spain, 'Sykes, Ella Constance (1863–1939)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73441, accessed 15 September 2009]
[134] Obit 365.
[135] Archibald Milne Hamilton, *Road Through Kurdistan: travels in Northern Iraq* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937).
[136] Freya Stark, *Beyond Euphrates* (London: John Murray, 1951), p.249.
[137] Obit 364.
[138] Scott R. Christianson, *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 174: British Travel Writers, 1876-1909* (Detroit, Michigan; London: Gale Research, 1997), pp.289-293. Christianson's biographical notes have been superseded by the *ODNB* entry on Sykes which dates from 2004.
[139] Elton L. Daniels, 'The Hajj and Qajar Travel Literature,' in *Society and Culture in Qajar Iran*, pp.215-37.

Both the ongoing impact of Curzon's text and his continued engagement in Anglo-Persian affairs is made clear throughout this thesis. As late as 1934 Harold Nicolson could write: 'Curzon's *Persia* remained (and will for long remain) the classic authority upon that stone-strewn Empire.'[140] Curzon's later works include *Problems of the Far East* (1894), an introduction to an 1895 edition of Morier's *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, and *The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus* (1896).[141] The work on the Oxus prefigures Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana*, which shall be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis. While Curzon was Viceroy of India (1899-1905), as Percy Sykes notes, 'increased interest was manifested in Persia by the Government of India. Many new consulates were founded, a trade mission was despatched to south-east Persia, and in every way British commerce was fostered and supported.'[142] Curzon visited the Persian Gulf during the winter of 1903, and remained fascinated – even obsessed – by Anglo-Persian relations for the rest of his life. Through both his travelogue and his political views Curzon influenced the experience and opinions of travellers, diplomats, consuls and journalists in Persia for years to come. In terms of British travel-writing, arguably the monumental *Persia and the Persian Question* freed later writers from making detailed surveys, and enabled them to focus on the quality of their writing and the readability of the works. The achievement of 'competent chroniclers' is expressed in the epigraph to the next chapter, which considers the works of two writers connected closely to Ella Sykes and Curzon, and which engage to a far greater extent with the modernity of Persia.

[140] Harold Nicolson, *Curzon: The Last Phase, 1919-1925, A Study in Post-War Diplomacy*, London: Constable & Co Ltd, 1934, pp.120-1.
[141] Curzon, *Problems of the Far East* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894); James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. Illustrated by H. R. Millar, with an introduction by the Hon. G. Curzon* (London: Macmilland & Co., 1895); Curzon, *The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus* (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1896; revised and reprinted from lecture and *Geographical Journal*).
[142] Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, vol. II, (London : Macmillan & Co., 1915), Chapter LXXX "The Awakening of Persia", pp.379-80.

Chapter 2: Transitional Travelogues: Military and Missionary Memoirs, 1900-1909

2.1 Introduction

... it is satisfactory to certify that these changes of condition mean upon the whole real progress, and that, thanks to His Majesty's Indian Government and the Royal Geographical Society, the outcome of that progress, whether theoretical or practical, is being turned to account by political and scientific experts who are themselves competent chroniclers.[1]

The 1901 second edition of Ella Sykes' work, *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle*, and the forward-looking Preface by Sir Frederic Goldsmid quoted above, marks a turning point in the evolution and reception of travelogues on Persia at the start of the twentieth century. This chapter compares the works of Ella's brother, the army officer Percy, and a female missionary, Mary Hume-Griffith. Sykes' work affiliates itself with military records of exploration, while Hume-Griffith's work touches on women's rights, both at home and abroad. As well as reiterating the potential plurality of experience Persia offered to travellers, diplomats and missionaries, and the resultant various travelogues, Sykes' and Hume-Griffith's work demonstrate another significant development in British travel-writing on Persia. Both works point to an increasing modernity in Britons' interactions with Persia, which Goldsmid labels 'progress.' In many ways, Goldsmid's words anticipate the readings of this chapter and the next, noting the developments in Persian society under the term 'progress' as well as an increasing attention to the stylistic capabilities of travel writers under the dry term 'competent chroniclers.'[2] As much of his career had been based around Persia and the new telegraph line, as well as boundary commissions between Persia and Afghanistan, Goldsmid was well placed to evaluate Ella's contribution to travel-writing on Persia, as well as the direction the genre seemed to be taking in 1901.[3] Goldsmid's introduction points to the warm reception *Through Persia* had received. He writes of the travelogue's 'attractive pages' as 'a pleasant and instructive volume,' and Sykes herself as 'a traveller endowed with strong powers of perception, and

[1] Sir Frederic Goldsmid, 'Introduction,' *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle, 2nd edn.*, by Ella Sykes (London: J. Macqueen, 1901), p.xiv.
[2] Goldsmid xiv.
[3] G. S. Woods, 'Goldsmid, Sir Frederic John (1818–1908)', rev. Alex May, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33443, accessed 24 May 2010]

whose sympathy with her surroundings is genuine.'[4] Turning from Ella to Percy, Goldsmid writes of the latter as a man 'who bids fair to establish an exceptional reputation amid Persian explorers.'[5] It is worth noting that Goldsmid quoted these lines from the introduction to the second edition of Ella's work, in his 1902 review of Percy's work in *The Geographical Journal*.[6] Ella's work was primarily appreciated for its style and her impressive and cheery character, while Percy's was heralded for the breadth of his explorations.

In 1902 Percy's bid to be established as an expert in the public eye on Persia was published under the weighty title: *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia; or, Eight Years in Iran*.[7] Hume-Griffith's *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia: An account of an Englishwoman's eight years' residence amongst the women of the East* similarly recounts a period of extended residence in the region, and engages with Ella's work.[8] Hume-Griffith lived with her medical-missionary husband for three years in Persia during 1900-1903, with one year in Kerman, home of the Sykes' in the mid-1890s. Sykes' work moves between a number of temporal stances, from his often antiquarian traveller's eye, to Victorian information cataloguing that mimics Curzon's work, and ground-breaking military reconnaissance work. His and Hume-Griffith's works also suggest that British travel-writing on Persia acquiesced a greater level of coevality to the country in the early years of the twentieth century. Hume-Griffith's work is here interpreted as showing greater affiliation with the suffragette cause rather than the missionary work of her husband, presenting the lives of Persian women in terms rooted in the discourse of the international suffragette movement of the early twentieth century. My reading of this text is influenced by Grewal's work on 'Empire and the Movement for Women's Suffrage in Britain' as well as Nima Naghibi's more recent work, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran*.[9] I consider

[4] Goldsmid ix, xvi and xv.
[5] Goldsmid xiv.
[6] *The Geographical Journal*, F. J. G. reviews *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia; Or, Eight Years in Iran*. Vol. 20, No. 1 (Jul., 1902), 92-95.
[7] Percy Molesworth Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia; or, Eight Years in Iran* (London: John Murray, 1902). Henceforth referred to as *Ten Thousand Miles*.
[8] M. E. Hume-Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia. An account of an Englishwoman's eight years' residence amongst the women of the East, with narratives of experiences in both countries by A. Hume-Griffith* (London: Seeley & Co., 1909). Henceforth referred to as *Behind the Veil*.
[9] Nima Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

the text's discourse on the mobility of Persian women and its calls for British women to act. I argue that this forgotten travelogue, whilst not only revealing another facet of British travel-writing on Persia, also demonstrates an unusual level of intimacy with Persian women and could be more widely used to develop critical responses to western women and concepts of imperialist attitudes and gender discourse in the non-colonial sphere from a missionary point of view. Finally, a comparison of the works' contrasting narrative structures highlights what Kristi Siegel has termed 'the narrative tug between circling and linearity that can take place in travel writing itself,' brought especially to the foreground in these works on account of the length of the pair's residences in the region.[10]

2.2 Percy Sykes: The Genesis and Modernity of a Military Memoir

Much of the significance of Sykes' work lies in its somewhat uneasy straddling of a number of genres and styles. This hybrid form marks a turning point in the evolution of British travel-writing on Persia between 1890 and 1940. Sykes' writing style is informed by four factors: the utilitarian military reports from which his travelogue is derived; Curzon's work; Sykes' antiquarian interest in the journeys of Alexander the Great and Marco Polo; and Persian literature. The work is therefore representative of a particularly derivative form of travel-writing, whose composition is replete with quotations from earlier historians and travellers and other forms of writing, and marked by plundering of many genres. Sykes' work demonstrates a combination of education and experience: his text prides itself on the writer's familiarity with the landscape; and goes out of its way to emphasise the author's intellectual standing too, through detailed and knowing references to Persian literature and language. For all his references to Curzon, demonstrating the latter's prominence and impact on the field, Sykes' work is significant precisely because of the range of his ground-breaking explorations, more topographical than intellectual. It is the combination of education and experience, of the derivative and the ground-breaking, that characterizes the work.

[10] Kristi Siegel, 'Introduction: Travel Writing and Travel Theory,' *Issues in Travel Writing: Empire, Spectacle, and Displacement* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), pp.1-9, 7.

Kristi Siegel suggests that a dismissive attitude towards landscapes is characteristic of imperial travel-writing:

> Richard Burton's comment, "See one promontory (said Socrates of old), one mountain, one sea, one river, and see all," might be the ultimate imperialist statement. Implicit in the statement is the idea that seeing one instance of any general category could stand in for them all. By this logic, seeing one Indian "native," meeting one Tibetan monk, or viewing one Norwegian fjord would be the same as seeing them all – difference and particularity are erased entirely. Put this way, the reification is obvious and ludicrous, yet it is just this type of sweeping generalization that typifies much of imperialist travel writing.[11]

Sykes' work could be presented as imperialist in that it was initially undertaken at the behest of his military superiors; quite unlike Siegel's supposition, however, Sykes' work is characterised by recording the minutiae of landscape, as the nature of exploration informs the form of the text very specifically. Rather than the imperial traveller, Sykes is the imperial researcher, cataloguing the contours of the country for future reference. The many journeys that make up Sykes' tours remove any hierarchy of route; there is no one single pre-eminent journey which the reader follows with an increasing sense of tension in the light of likely obstacles, and concludes with a sense of relief that the goal has been achieved. This stands in contrast with, for example, Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa*, which similarly deals with extended explorations. Unlike Percy's work, in Kingsley's text routes tend not to overlap as she travels along the coast and occasionally inland along rivers. Her pioneering ascent of the 13,760ft Great Peak of the Cameroons is set at the end of the journey and the travelogue in two chapters, and can almost be read as a self-standing adventure.[12] Early reviews of Kingsley's work stress her writing style, the 'fun of the telling'[13] or the 'freshness, force and originality' of her riveting work.[14] Reviews of Sykes, meanwhile, focus less on his writing style and more on the information conveyed and the plurality of routes taken; a gender distinction can be drawn here between the joviality stressed in the woman's work and the lengths covered by Percy. The TLS review spends many column inches explaining Sykes' various routes taken through

[11] Siegel, 'Introduction,' 2.
[12] Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1897).
[13] Anonymous, 'Review (untitled),' *Folklore*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Jun., 1897), 162-165, 163.
[14] Edward Heawood, 'Some New Books on Africa,' (including Kingsley's *West African Studies*, London: Macmillan, 1899), *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Apr., 1899), 412-422, 420.

the country, while Goldsmid stresses 'the large area traversed in his several expeditions.'[15]

Sykes' reader, rather than following one journey through a country or region, is brought time and again to metropolises and mountain ranges as the several journeys overlap. Cities are revisited, with information on them offered in the narrative in line with Sykes' familiarisation of them, and not when first introduced or encountered. He emphasises these moments of cross-over: at Fánoch he strikes his 1893-4 journey, a fortuitous opportunity to fulfil old longings and 'march across the last blank on the map of Persia' credited to kind 'fate' (308-9); 'a wide uninteresting plain' marks a crossing of his '1895 route at Kuhpá'(345). Connections with earlier journeys such as at Nimbuluk and Gunabád are 'always satisfactory.' (407-8) Sykes' primary ambition is cartographic, and influenced by official duty. Though in his earliest journeys he had travelled without official permissions, slipping past official boundaries or regulations, (11) as a British officer and consul he must follow some regulations. Sykes' wanderings are not those of the wealthy amateur, and there are moments when the duty of exploration challenges the joys of travel: 'By the end of July it was once again time to resume our tramp's life…' (405) Sykes' ambitions and duties lead him to circle throughout Persia, and his work demonstrates what Siegel terms 'the narrative tug between circling and linearity that can take place in travel writing.'[16] The text thus reads quite differently to his sister's and Curzon's works, which visit cities singly; Sykes highlights the circularity of cartographic work, which moves onto the unknown and back on itself to reaffirm links with areas already mapped. Sykes' reader is challenged by the circling through Persia and the bombardment of unfamiliar place names.

The journeys Sykes relates retain some of the flavour of military notebooks, and the journeys had not only been described in this form to his military superiors, but also to

[15] Henry Percy, 'Persia. Ten Thousand Miles in Persia by Sykes, Percy Molesworth, Major', *The Times Literary Supplement* (London: England), Friday, May 30, 1902, Issue 20, 153-4.
F. J. G. [Frederic Goldsmid], 'Review: *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia; Or, Eight Years in Iran*,' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Jul., 1902), 92-95.
[16] Kristi Siegel, 'Introduction: Travel Writing and Travel Theory,' *Issues in Travel Writing: Empire, Spectacle, and Displacement* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), pp.1-9, 7.

many at the RGS since 1897.[17] They had been initially confidential, but then expressed within the academic spheres; finally in the shape of this book the information becomes fully public knowledge.[18] Sykes' initial military reports are available at the Middle East Centre Archive in Oxford, and one can see the similarities in structure between *Ten Thousand Miles* and the initial reports in the opening of this dossier:

> Summary of Third Journey (October, 1893, to June, 1894) It has been thought desirable to make a short report which should serve to connect the thirteen routes into which my third journey has been divided. My party included Surgeon-Major Brazier Creagh (whom, at my request, the authorities had allowed to accompany me in his professional capacity), Sultan Sukru, 3rd Punjab Cavalry (a trained plane-tabler), two sowars belonging to the Corps of Guides, six Indian servants, and six horses and ponies.
>
> ...
>
> My instructions, which left me a very free hand, were to join the Farman Farma, Governor of Kerman, during his tour, with a view to use my influence in establishing more friendly relations with him, and at the same time to do any exploration which might be possible.[19]

The thirteen routes, here joined into 'a short report' are joined in *Ten Thousand Miles* into a travelogue narrative, having already been presented at the RGS. Like many others, including Mary Kingsley's lectures or Curzon's letters to *The Times*, Sykes' book is the final stage in an evolution of publications on Persia.[20] One can note also that the recommendations given to Sykes' superior officers might prove equally useful to the intrepid traveller: 'we had to change our "Dasht" camels, who are only

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[17] Percy Sykes, 'Recent Journeys in Persia,' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 6 (December, 1897), 568-594.

[18] Letter from Sykes to Scott Keltie, dated 6th October 1893: 'The I.B. [Information Bureau] will let you have most of my work – in time, but part of it they want kept secret.' From Correspondence Block 1881-1910, Percy Sykes Papers, Royal Geographical Society, London.

Keltie was a long-standing member of the RGS, who was prominent in editing the RGS journal over many years. Elizabeth Baigent, 'Keltie, Sir John Scott (1840–1927)', ODNB, online edn, OUP, September 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34269, accessed 22 June 2010]

[19] Second Lieutenant Percy M. Sykes, 2nd Dragoon Guards, *Routes and Notes of a Third Journey in Persia, Compiled for the Intelligence Division of the War Office, With Map. Confidential* (Intelligence Division, War Office, September 1894), p.3. Middle East Centre Archives, Oxford, visited 17th June 2010.

[20] Mary Kingsley, 'The Ascent of Cameroons Peak and Travels in French Congo,' a talk at the Liverpool Geographical Society on 19th March, 1896 (Liverpool: The "Journal of Commerce" Printing Works, 1896). She also spoke at the Scottish Geographical Society in January 1896, on 'Travels on the Western Coast of Equatorial Africa,' 'a racy account of her journey between the Ogooué and the Remboué in Gabon… more or less extracted intact from the manuscript of *Travels in West Africa*.' Katherine Frank, *A Voyager Out: The Life of Mary Kingsley* (London: Corgi Books, 1988), p.236. 'Most of the lectures Mary gave in 1896 were in fact lifted directly from her work in progress, in part to avoid diverting herself from her primary task of finishing the book, and even more important to create an audience for the book when it did appear.' 236-7.

accustomed to the level sand, for the hardier and finer camels of Lashar [at Geh]. This fact is a very important one to bear in mind, in case of military operations in this country.'[21] Similarly, as he might justify a choice of route in a military report, so he explains himself fully to the reader, who, one imagines, having followed him thus far does not need to be assured that '…many an hour was spent poring over maps before we could decide which was the best route to follow.' (410) Sykes' work points to the closeness in linguistic structure and factual focus of military reconnaissance missions, and guidebooks for travellers. Writing that affirms suitability for professional promotion simultaneously affirms value to the reader of travel-writing. The distance between journey and travelogue has been stretched by up to nine years, rendering this record of his discoveries in the last century perhaps out-dated, yet the translation of the words from army mapping record to travel book is occasionally minimal. Writing in opposition to his sister's and Curzon's less geographically adventurous works, Sykes selects an exploration memoir for his form, which offers moments of cartographic analysis which are perhaps less readable than his sister's accounts of people she encountered.

To render the explorations and landscapes more accessible to his reader, Sykes manipulates the military reports using familiar tropes which fulfil an imperial logic: empty spaces on maps are 'filled in' as Sykes circles through the country, highlighting to his reader moments at which his journeys, and the narrative of the text, come back on themselves. These moments at which Sykes highlights his achievements – stressing his worth to his superiors – can be read as clichéd bombastic claims to conquering a landscape, when translated into a travelogue. Sykes frequently recounts climbing immense peaks to view the landscape, in what Pratt terms the 'solemnity and self-congratulatory tone of the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene' which she believes 'are a virtual invitation to satire and demystification.'[22] Sykes himself satirises some of his own explorations, and demystifies the occasionally futile or misplaced art of exploration. One climb, to a height of approximately 9,000ft, turns out to be not the highest peak of the region, but without water Sykes is forced to make do with 'a good idea of the range, which is practically waterless, and a still better one

[21] Sykes, *Routes and Notes of a Third Journey in* Persia, 3.
[22] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.208.

of the surrounding Lut [desert], and of the tracks branching off to Káin, Sistán, Sarhad, Khabis, and Yezd, about all of which I collected details.' (37) Another climb, up Kuh-i-Fánoch, was supposed to take an hour: 'however, it took four… we had a somewhat trying time, especially as the last 500 feet is a solid cliff of white limestone, and almost perpendicular.' (116) Scaled peaks sometimes enable Sykes to correct earlier travellers – including Goldsmid's theory 'that the Bampur river reached the sea' – but more satisfying than this correction is the 'superb panorama, which gave us what we so much wanted – an idea of the lie of the country.' (116) The challenge of one peak is expressed in a stoic and wry style, as Sykes is 'somewhat at a disadvantage, being 'reduced to an old pair of tennis shoes as footwear.' Brazier Creagh, mentioned in the report cited above, encourages the fatigued guides and Sykes, and 'at last [we] received our reward in having scaled another virgin peak.'[23] (140)

Like the peaks which need to be scaled, filling in blanks on maps becomes another trope of Sykes' work, and his achievements are often linked to his army predecessors. Colonel St G. Gore, 'now Surveyor-General of India' had been Sykes' sole (British) predecessor on the Kerman road, whence Sykes travels to 'an elevated fertile district between Abid and Khabis' of which he has heard, so that he can grant it 'an existence on the map, which was quite blank in that direction.' (40) The high status of Gore, and Sykes' further exploration, perhaps offers a hint to Sykes' military superiors of his worth, as well as contextualising his achievements to the implied reader of the final published work. Captain Grant in the first decade of the nineteenth century leaves 'notes… of the scantiest' variety, leaving Sykes uncertain of finding water in the Kaur. (113) Similarly, Captain Jennings had only given 'partial geographical existence' to the Sarhad in 1885. (125) Sykes unsurprisingly does not engage with the question of the 'existence' of these regions before his travels. The post-colonial reader, however, notes that most of Sykes' initial information comes from Persians, resulting in such paradoxical statements as: 'Being, as ever, anxious to avoid routes which were known, I made enquiries from various sources.' (30) The routes are known to the Persians, but not within the current British field of cartographic

[23] Creagh himself wrote extensive reports on his journeys in Persia, some of which are held in the Sykes' boxes at the Middle East Centre Archive, Oxford University. For example: Surgeon-Major G. W. Brazier-Creagh, *A reconnaissance through Persian Baluchistan and Eastern Persia in 1893-94* (Simla: Government Central Printing Office, 1895).

knowledge; a hierarchy of knowledge is thus conveyed, with formal British cartography heralded above informally circulating, local Persian knowledge, which is not always willingly given. (279) Pratt's analysis of 'the imperial act of discovery' suggests one can interpret Sykes' writing in the mould of imperial texts, even though Persia remained an independent country. McClintock writes:

> Like baptism, the imperial act of discovery is a surrogate birthing ritual: the lands are already peopled, as the child is already born. Discovery, for this reason, is a *retrospective* act. As Mary Louise Pratt points out, the discovery has no existence on its own: "It only gets 'made' for real after the traveller (or other survivor) returns home and brings it into being through texts: a name on a map, a report to the Royal Geographical Society, the Foreign Office, the London Mission Society, a diary, a lecture, a travel book."* Discovery, as Pratt remarks, usually involves a journey to a far-flung region, asking local inhabitants it they know of a nearby river, lake or waterfall, paying them to take one there, then "discovering" the site, usually by the passive act of seeing it. During these extravagant acts of discovering, imperial men reinvent a moment of pure (male) origin and mark it visibly with one of Europe's fetishes: a flag, a name on a map, a stone, or later, perhaps, a monument.[24]

Ten Thousand Miles was published after these moments of discovery were expressed as 'a name on a map, a report to the RGS, the Foreign Office' (or military), and this travelogue is thus a somewhat belated work. Not only are these sites and sights already known in Persia, but some have been increasingly familiar through Curzon's map, Ella's travelogue, Sykes' reports and RGS lectures; finally in the travelogue, the the impact of these moments of discovery has perhaps diminished.

Given the professional ambition of his journeys and the military background to *Ten Thousand Miles*, exploration becomes for Sykes a marker of the ambitious national identity of Britain. Persians are shown to be distrustful of the concept: 'when I tried to explain that I was anxious to explore for the Royal Geographical Society, his contempt for a body which existed for such a purpose was not concealed!' (14-5) Later, also during his first journey, he writes: 'At first I did not mention that I was an officer travelling for my own amusement, but when I found that I was considered to be employed on some wonderful mission, I revealed the fact, and was not believed, no Oriental ever travelling except for gain or as a pilgrim.' (21) After this first self-prompted journey, Sykes' journeys were undertaken at the behest of his army

[24] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), pp.29-3. *Fn. 31: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p.204.

superiors, and thus furthered his career. As his sister pitied Persian women who cannot travel or roam, so does Sykes implicitly belittle Persian men who do not embrace travel and exploration for their own sake. Reiterating the strength of British knowledge on Persia, Sykes goes so far as to suggest his personal knowledge outweighs that of the Shah, who 'was graciously pleased to remark that I have given him much useful information' on the distant provinces of Persia that Sykes had explored. (159) The criticism levelled at Curzon, that he 'seems to be under the impression that he has discovered Persia [and] he now in some way mysteriously owns it,' can be directed at Sykes too.[25] Elena Andreeva's study of Russian travellers in Persia makes clear that exploration was by no means a solely British undertaking.[26] Sykes' work shows, however, that records of exploration could be manipulated to form a travelogue, as well as bolster concepts of British national identity. Moreover, in the context of the broader field of British travel-writing on Persia, Sykes significantly reduces the scope for exploration memoirs to follow his: as Curzon synthesised academic scholarship on Persia in his work, muting the possibility of later writers to attempt a work on that scale, so Sykes reduces the potential market for later travelogues taking such exploration as their focus. Indeed the next travelogue explored within this thesis which focuses to such a degree on exploration and cartography only appears in the 1930s: Freya Stark's *The Valleys of the Assassins*.

In contrast with this regular emphasis on his physical achievement, Sykes seeks also to connect his work with Curzon's and stress his own intellectual standing. Sykes' work is dedicated 'by special permission to the Right Honourable Lord Curzon of Kedleston, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E. – Viceroy and Governor General of India.' (vii) Sykes' biographer discusses letters from Sykes to Curzon in 1894, written in what Wynn terms a 'gushing schoolboy style,' which show 'that Sykes was already hoping to be appointed Consul' at that date, and looking to Curzon to aid his cause.[27] Curzon approved of Sykes' 'swagger and self assurance' and recommended him for official work, saying: 'Sykes swells himself out a little, and struts before the world.'[28] As

[25] *Sunday Sun*, June 5, 1892, page 7. "A Dull Book About Persia".
[26] Elena Andreeva, *Russia and Iran in the Great Game: Travelogues and Orientalism*, (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2007).
[27] Wynn 32. MS Eur. F 111/69 in the OIOC.
[28] Wynn 88, no citation given. See also Wynn 105-6 for details of Curzon's manoeuvrings to get Sykes appointed as military attaché at the Tehran Legation in 1901.

Wynn notes, however, Sykes apparently risked incurring the displeasure of the more powerful Curzon who, upon receiving a copy of *Ten Thousand Miles*, wrote to Sykes:

> …not only… to thank him for it and to compliment him on it but added a table that he had carefully drawn up, showing nine direct quotations, with chapter and verse, which Sykes had lifted from his own two-volume book *Persia and the Persian Question*, with the comment: 'I observe you have made a clean sweep of all my most cherished quotations… Either our reading must run on curiously parallel lines or you must have absorbed what I wrote with a completeness which is in any case a compliment.'[29]

Sykes generally cites other authors scrupulously. At worst, Sykes' lifting of Curzon's lines could be seen as a simulacrum of a simulacrum, inexplicable in the light of his first-hand knowledge of the country. Curzon's ego, however, apparently softened any potential anger at the plagiarism, unintentional or otherwise. Sykes also mimics Curzon's use of epigraphs, sometimes using the same author, even the same text, suggesting this was no coincidence.[30] The literary impact of Curzon's work is evident, but Sykes' flattery of Curzon also points to the political power Curzon held.

The men's acquaintances overlapped, although Sykes stressed his interaction with Persians of 'all classes', thus giving him a fairer opinion than 'that of the casual globe-trotter.' (457). Sykes writes of meeting a 'Mírza who had given Lord Curzon so much trouble, and it was quite refreshing to hear how, according to his account, he had done everything to forward that distinguished traveller.' (255) As Curzon had parried with Násir-ul-Mulk in Oxford, so Sykes comes to know him, and on his leave after his journey with Ella, takes charge of him in England as representative of the new Shah. (259)

[29] Wynn 106, no citation given.

[30] Sykes' chapter epigraphs are as follows. ** indicates that Curzon also uses this author in an epigraph. ** indicates that Curzon uses the same author and work.*

*Chapter I – Horace, Book II., *Ode* 9.
Chapter II – Jenkinson on the Turkoman; footnote adds *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*, p.65 (Hakluyt Soc.).
Chapter III – Jeremiah ii. 6.
**Chapter IV – Shelley's *Alastor* ['The poet, wandering on, through Arabie, / And Persia, and the wild Carmanian waste, / And o'er the aërial mountains which pour down / Indus and Oxus from their icy caves, / In joy and exultation held his way.']
Chapter V – *Tárikh-i-Rashídi*.
Chapter VI – Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyám*.
Chapter VII – Abdur Razzák.
Chapter VIII – Baluchi Proverb.
Chapter IX – *Lament of Sinán Ibn Seláma*; footnote adds 'Sinán was the second Arab Governor of Makrán, which post he held for two years.'
Chapter X – Arrian's *Periplus*.
*Chapter XI – Tennyson's *Geraint and Enid*.
*Chapter XII – Herodotus, iii. 93. [in Greek]
Chapter XIII – Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*.
Chapter XIV – Chaucer, *The Monke's Tale*.
Chapter XV – Sir Thomas Herbert.
Chapter XVI – Moore, *The Fire-Worshippers*.
Chapter XVII – Rudyard Kipling ['Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet, / Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat.']

Not only in his writing, but also occasionally whilst travelling, Sykes concedes Curzon's work takes precedence. During an early stay in Meshed, a Mr Elias encourages Sykes 'to cross the Lut and visit Kermán, much of the intervening country being a blank on the map,' and lends him 'many books of Persian travel.' He evaluates these, saying they gave him 'much help, although neither for accuracy nor for recent information did they compare with the monumental work of the present Viceroy of India, whose account of Meshed is so complete what I would refer my readers to it.' (26) Similarly, on Persepolis, Sykes advises his 'all travellers to read through carefully and then take with them' Curzon's pages on the subject, so that unlike him after his first visit, the traveller need not leave 'with much bewilderment and little profit.' (324) Sykes thus demonstrates obeisance to Curzon's text, suggesting how comprehensively the work impacted upon later travellers and travel-writing on Persia. This submissive stance undermines some of Sykes' attempts at intellectual grandeur, such as his epigraphs, as well as his cartographic achievements. Moreover, this stance suggests his work's belatedness. Other locations also require little additional contribution from Sykes. Shiraz is 'too well known to require a full description from my pen' but he does effusively recommend the bazaars, palace and 'splendid gardens… where the pleasure-loving citizens, the only Persians who really seem to enjoy life, spend most of the summer, every one entertaining in turn' in a relaxed guide-book tone (322-3). Similarly: 'The sights of Isfahán have been so minutely described, that more than a passing reference would be out of place.' (332)

Chapter XVIII – *Romance of Richard Coer de Lion*, l. 2112 (Weber, ii. p.83).
Chapter XIX – *Romance of Alisaunder*, line 4824 (Weber, i. p.201).
Chapter XXX – Tennyson, *Recollections of Arabian Nights*.
Chapter XXI – Matthew Arnold.
**Chapter XXII – Milton, *Paradise Regained*.
*Chapter XXIII – Tennyson's *Ulysses*.
Chapter XXIV – Marco Polo.
Chapter XXV – *Paradise Lost*, book ii., line I.
Chapter XXVI – *The Tempest*, Act. iv., *Scene* I.
Chapter XXVII – Sir Thomas Herbert on Shiráz.
Chapter XXVIII – Jenkinson, from *Albion's England*, cap. lxvi.
Chapter XXIX – Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyám*.
**Chapter XX – Charles Kingsley, *Andromeda*.
**Chapter XXXI – Matthew Arnold, *Sohrab and Rustum*.
**Chapter XXXII – Shakespeare, *Henry IV*., Part II.
**Chapter XXXIII – Shakespeare, *Henry IV*., Part I, Act. iii. *Scene* I.
Chapter XXXIV – Isidorus of Charax, 15 [in Greek]
Chapter XXXV – Pierre Loti, *Le Désert*, p. 90.
Chapter XXXVI – Ibn Haukal
Chapter XXXVII – Rudyard Kipling
Chapter XXXVIII – Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I. xii. I.

Sykes' awareness of British travel-writing on Persia shapes his foci, but he criticises some works by the 'casual globe-trotter', and writers 'who have rushed hastily through the country, have not learned Persian, have engaged some scoundrel as servant, and have encountered many difficulties at the post-houses. It would be equally fair to judge of Paris or London by the surliness of its cabbies!' (457) Sykes stresses the 'ungrudging hospitality and courteous consideration' he has encountered from all classes, and highlights this wide-ranging interaction as well as the breadth of his travels as justification for his 'fairer' opinion. (457) Like reviews of his sister's work, Sykes stresses the value of a lengthy residence in a country when writing on it; Curzon's three months, however, apparently suffice. While Sykes notes he and his sister felt 'that we were acting as pioneers' and 'almost every day we acquired some fresh knowledge about the country,' (206) Sykes' narrative comes second to Curzon's, Ella's, and others, and two other figures who shape his interpretation of the country: Alexander the Great, and Marco Polo.

Sykes' fascination with these two figures is another important influence on his travels and travelogue, and arguably underappreciated by his biographer Antony Wynn. Moreover Sykes' text highlights the old texts through which Persia could be imagined by British travellers. In his late fifties, Sykes was still lecturing on Marco Polo, saying he 'has served as an inspiration' throughout Sykes' thirty years in Persia, 'Central Asia, in Chinese Turkestan, and on the Pamirs' following in Polo's footsteps. He recommends Henry Yule's 'great… work on Marco Polo' which 'will remain for all time a classic full of fascinating lore.'[31] To a lesser extent, Alexander is also cast in the light of Sykes' explorer ancestor. Chapter XIV, 'The March of Alexander the Great from the Indus to the Kárun' offers an interpretation of Alexander's chosen routes in the light of Sykes' own journeys. By cross-referencing writings on Alexander and Marco Polo, Sykes concludes 'it is intensely interesting to note… that the two greatest travellers in classic and mediæval times respectively have crossed one another's routes in the valley of the Halíl Rud.' (173) Intensely interesting to Sykes, perhaps, but in labelling it thus so emphatically one wonders whether he doubted his readers' ability to recognise the fact as such. Sykes' rapid movement between various centuries of Persian history is also seen as he leaves Alexander at the

[31] Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, 'In the footsteps of Marco Polo,' Anniversary Lecture, June 26, 1935, *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. XXII* (October 1935), p.525.

end of Chapter XIV, with quotation from the biblical Book of Esther, and opens Chapter XV with his appointment 'in October 1894' as consul of Kerman. (174-6) Chapter XXIII, 'Marco Polo's Travels in Persia,' uses 'freely' Sir Henry Yule's work. It claims its accuracy through Sykes' two tours, taken 'mainly to solve difficulties which required a full knowledge of the local topography, and it will… be conceded that the man on the spot, who has studied the literature, is more likely to be correct than one who is limited to imperfect small-scale maps in Europe.' (260) Sykes' combative approach to Yule's work suggests an insecurity about his status, and again emphasises this travelogue's prioritising of experience over research. To strengthen his claims to expertise, he cites Houtum Schindler, Curzon's main source; but thus paradoxically Sykes shows his own work to be belated: 'In the Journal of the R.A.S. (N. S. vol. xiii. p.490) General Houtum Schindler, C.I.E., gives a most valuable contribution to the itineraries of Marco Polo in Southern Persia. I am glad to find that, after having closely followed in the footsteps of the great Venetian, I have arrived at almost the same conclusions as General Schindler, to whom I would here express my thanks.' (267) Nevertheless, Marco Polo and Alexander are regularly referred to in paeans ('in the East the greatest name of all is that of Alexander the Great' (275)) or with fond nostalgia ('These two legends were evidently mixed up by Marco Polo, and probably by most of the mediæval travellers, with the delightful vagueness of those early days.' (153)) Even at a very banal level, Sykes attempts to link himself with Marco Polo, who, he writes, 'must have travelled very long stages, averaging over 30 miles a day, and, oddly enough, I took exactly the same time on the main road, when pressed for time in 1900.' (265) Marco Polo's pace must have seemed a remarkably long-lasting and frustrating record to beat. Sykes' paralleling of himself with Marco Polo and Alexander is neither simply a denial of the coevality of the Orient nor an exercise in mapping ancient routes onto contemporary landscape. He shows his indebtedness to these men and the inspiration they offered, as if his own work and travels are belated and require great efforts to be made worthy of publication. As mentioned earlier, this obsession with Marco Polo proved lifelong, to the considerable frustration of his family: a daughter recalled being bored when Sykes in his final years indefatigably recalled his years in Persia following the explorer.[32]

[32] Wynn 324.

One way in which Sykes's travelogue is distinguished is through his familiarity with Persian. He notes that his study of the language in India was problematic:

> …the Persian of Hindustan being less akin to the real tongue than the French of Stratford-atte-Bowe to that of Paris, as, in the latter case, the words used are the same, whereas the Persia of India is a corruption of the tongue as spoken in the days of Nádir Sháh.[2]
>
> [2] Upon my recommendation, a Persian translation of Háji Baba and the Vazir-i-Khán-i-Lenkorán have, I believe, been adopted as text-books by the Government of India. Both are full of the best modern colloquial Persian. (8)

Sykes thus not only established himself as a notable Orientalist linguist, but also someone educated enough to draw on Chaucer for jokes.[33] Furthermore, it is striking that Morier's satirical novel, proffered to Persians in their own language, is then offered back to British officials as exemplary linguistic training. Sykes later mimicked Morier's *Hajji Baba* in his own autobiografiction of a Persian, *The Glory of the Shia World*.[34] Sykes' knowledge of Persian and specifically the distinctions between Persia and Iran is marked in the title of the work; the first sentence of the book ('The land of Persia has always exercised a strong fascination on my mind, but while serving in India I could gain little or no information about it, nor did their seems any likelihood of my ever visiting romantic Irán.'[35]); and the first footnote in the text: 'The word Irán is the classic Ariána, the land of the Arii, the capital of which is still Herát. Aryan is also the same word. *Cf.* Zand *airya*, Sans, *árya*, and Lat. *aráre*.' (1) The etymology of Persia and Iran is also a source of discussion in Chapter XXVIII: 'Fárs is the same word as the Greek *Persis*, from which… the title of Pársi is also derived, as well as the term Persia, which we apply to the land of Irán.' (321) Sykes' use of accents to suggest Persian pronunciation is also uncommon, but is restricted to this accent to distinguish long and short a vowel sounds. The absence of any other accents or modifiers, however, suggests either Sykes or his publishers wished not to complicate matters, believing that while etymology can be discussed in passing,

[33] On the Prioresse: '…Frenssh she spake ful faire and fetisly, / After the schole of Stratford atte Bowe, / For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe.' (lines 124-6). Geoffrey Chaucer, 'General Prologue,' *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer, 3rd edition*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), p.25.

[34] *The glory of the Shia world: the tale of a pilgrimage*, translated & edited from a Persian manuscript by P. M. Sykes, assisted by Khan Bahadur Ahmad Din Khan (London: Macmillan, 1910).

[35] Compare the first sentence of his sister's work: 'The "gorgeous East" has always possessed a strong fascination for me, and after reading "Eothen," that most delightful book of travels, the indescribable attraction of the Orient became, if possible, stronger than before.' *Through Persia*, 2.

accurate transliteration is a step too far in this populist genre. Sykes refers to both Sadi and Háfiz in relation to Shiráz, where their tombs 'are still to be seen, although much neglected.' (322) He also refers to less well-known works, including *Sháh Náma* and the Pahlavi *Kárnámak-i-Artakshír-i-Pápakán*, and clearly does not read them all in translation. In relation to the latter, he expresses 'sense of obligation to the Parsi editor, and may he follow up this work with others of the same value. It is of great importance to have access to the material used by Firdusi. Professor Nöldeke's German translation, too, is of great critical value.' (216) A fusion of modern Oriental linguists and wide-ranging knowledge of the ancient texts is thus demonstrated. His knowledge in later years assumed a legendary status: in 1945, just two months before Sykes' sudden death, a historian at King's College, London, wrote in a letter introducing Sykes to the works of Evliya Effendi: 'It will be a special privilege to introduce you to a traveller you don't know about.'[36] One sees in Sykes' emphasis on his linguistic skill and familiarity with Persian texts a desire to distinguish himself from other travellers of the era.

Ten Thousand Miles is thus a record of exploration, derived from early military reports; it is heavily influenced by Curzon's work, and seeks to compensate for its perceived belatedness in relation to that text and the travels of Marco Polo and Alexander, by emphasising the writer's familiarity with the language and literary culture of Persia. There are two further aspects of the text which warrant attention as they are perhaps unique to this travelogue: firstly, Sykes' efforts as a salesman, and secondly his focus on Kerman. Sykes' trade in Persian goods with profit in mind contrasts with artefacts being sent to London museums as presented in his sister's work. The Victoria and Albert Museum in London today holds bangles and a fragment of tile given by Sykes, and the British Museum holds hundreds of his lantern slides as well as tiles and ornaments, referred to on occasion within the text.[37] Unlike this unremarkable contribution to London collections, Sykes also describes moonlighting as a carpet trader, perhaps understandably given the position as Consul

[36] W R Halliday, letter to Sykes, dated April 18th 1945. Enclosed was Halliday's paper on 'A Turkish Traveller of the Seventeenth Century', *History: The quarterly journal of the Historical Association* (September 1944, Vol. XXIX, No. 110), Middle East Centre Archives, Oxford, June 17th 2010; box 6 of PMS papers.

[37] 'Collection database search,' The British Museum. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx, accessed 4 April 2012. As of April 2012, 923 objects in the collection relate to Sykes.

was ‘unsalaried, and there was but a small office allowance.’ (176) An early purchase of carpets for about £7 is surprisingly successful: ‘Fortune favoured my ignorance, as they were worth four or five times that sum in England, and I bought them especially cheap, as they were not new!’ (21) A later wider initiative looks not west, but east to Quetta to British buyers there. Sykes part funds a venture to export ‘the exquisite carpets, the finest in the world’ with ‘samples of Yezd silks, saffron, homespun, and pistachio nuts’ in a caravan, ‘the pioneer of greater things.’ (419) Suddenly the work takes on the tone of an enthusiastic salesman, as he hopes that a government ban on aniline dyes will be successful and ‘that the beautiful nomad rugs may once more be appreciated in Europe as they deserve.’ (429) The first caravan meets with success:

> Fortune smiled on it, as His Excellency the Viceroy [Curzon] happened to visit Quetta at the period of its arrival, and the purchases he made were so considerable and drew such attention to the caravan that the carpets were all sold at a handsome profit. In 1900 the second and much more important caravan was despatched, and I now consider that a trade may be established to the mutual benefit of Indo-Persian relations. (419)

Persian rugs are evident at Curzon’s home, Kedleston, including a large late-nineteenth-century piece in the Music room from Isfahan; history does not relate whether this was bought from Sykes’ caravan.[38] Sykes’ removal of goods from Persia positions him as Victorian amateur collector, and twentieth-century businessman.

Another unique aspect of Sykes’ work is its focus on Kerman and Baluchistan, regions of Persia beyond to the standard trail from north to south via Teheran, Qom, Isfahan, Yazd and Shiraz. Through its proximity to India this region was especially significant, and Sykes’ knowledge of the area was probably beneficial to his career. He became a close friend of the Farman Farma, a politically significant Qajar prince, who visited the consulate in Kerman. Moreover, Sykes participated in the Perso-Baluch Frontier Commission of 1896 which delimited the final border between British Baluchistan and Persia. Both siblings’ depictions of the commission stress comic misunderstandings and interest in performativity presented by all delegations, rather than the geopolitical significance of the event. While his expertise on the region might well have aided his professional career, the exhaustive focus on the region

[38] Notes from visit to Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, autumn 2009.

might leave some readers nonplussed or bewildered by the cacophonic roll-call of names in clausal-rich sentences like this from the chapter 'The Province of Kerman':

> In A.H. 126 (744) Ibn Muávia, great-grandson of Jafar, brother of Ali, claimed the throne upon the succession of Merwan, and his cause was warmly espoused by the unstable Kufans. As usual, they failed to support their choice, and he withdrew across the Tigris. During the next two years, with the support of the Khárijites, he established his court at Istakhr,[1] and was acknowledged throughout Persia. In A.H. 129 (747), the Khárijites having been subdued, he was forced to fly, and, entering into negotiations with Abú Muslim, who had raised the black banner of the house of Abbás, was smothered under a mattress by the unscrupulous agent's orders, his claims being dangerously strong.
>
> [1] Or Persepolis. (51)

At times, even a Kerman savant such as Sykes recognises the relative lack of interesting material in the history of this region, which is so 'remote from the western and northern frontiers' and had, therefore, 'once again no history' so he 'will merely give a list of its rulers, so as the chronicler records them.' (66) Despite the so-called absence of history, or the statement that 'again nothing of interest occurs' (66), Sykes continues to offer a history which would confound non-specialist readers. He includes two chapters on the history of the district of Kerman, and a third on the city of Kerman alone. Even for the contemporary ruler of Kerman, '*Mírza* Mahmud Khán, *Ala-ul-Mulk*,' it seems 'somewhat out of the world,' not least because he had been Ambassador at Constantinople. (71) Baluchistan too has been read as a marginal space by twentieth-century anthropologists.[39] One sees reflected in his travelogue, therefore, the regional focus of Sykes' career, a regional focus that emphasises his expertise on this region, rendered significant at this date for its proximity to India. For the casual reader, however, this focus might be challenging. Nonetheless the fascination with so many aspects of Persian landscape, culture and history combined with Sykes' lengthy residence in the Persia implies a certain affection for the country.

Sykes' biographer Wynn stresses that his subject 'never ceased to profess his admiration for the people, the literature and the art of Persia. In none of his writings,

[39] 'Balochistan's distance from centres of power, its harsh, arid climate, and its limited productivity have meant that the Baloch have generally been marginal to major events in the seats of imperial power, and thus of little interest to scholars.' Paul Titus, 'Preface,' *Marginality and Modernity: Ethnicity and Change in Post-Colonial Balochistan*, ed. Paul Titus (Oxford: OUP, 1996), p.ix.

whether public or private, did he ever criticize or disparage the Persians.'[40] This is too blinkered an observation, although Sykes critiques other travel-writers' anti-Persian sentiments: 'Writers coming from Europe or India are, in my humble opinion, much too severe on the state of Persia.' (391) Sykes believes Persians 'with their polite manners and vivacity resemble the Latin races, but there is an absolute want of system and no idea of thrashing out a question in the way so dear to the soul of an Englishman.' He also quotes Arthur Conolly, who 'thought that Persians were more polite than Frenchmen, and also wittier.'[41] Later Sykes adds that his opinion 'merely repeats the views of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who… wrote "The Persian, considered as a mere animal, is very superior to any other Asiatic, to an Indian or a Turk, or even a Russian."'[42] On a surface level, and in comparison with other writers, these are complimentary statements. However, through the secondary status of Persians to the landscape of the country, and through Sykes' acceptance of a description of Persians as 'mere animals' and his criticism of their perceived lack of logic, one can dispute Wynn's claim that Sykes never 'disparaged' Persians. Nonetheless the country remained a primary interest for Sykes for the rest of his life, unlike some other figures considered within this thesis.

Ten Thousand Miles, arguably Sykes 'best book', marks a continuing demand for travelogues on Persia, and its several editions went far in 'establishing Sykes as a popular expert on Persia.'[43] The work was composed *en route* to South Africa, as Sykes went to join the Boer War. Technically still working as a consul, Sykes' decision to leave Persia was not ratified until he was halfway across the Indian Ocean, thus leaving him 'more or less absent without leave' until an approving telegram reply cleared the way, suggesting a forgiving air towards this explorer and expert.[44] There is archival evidence that other prominent Persophiles, Browne and Francis Younghusband, read the proofs of the work.[45] Within the sphere of London Persophiles, Curzon's approbation of Sykes continued, saying after a 1906 lecture

[40] Wynn 324.
[41] *Ten Thousand* 76. Hume-Griffith writes: 'Persians have often been called the Frenchmen of the East. They certainly are a most courteous and polite people… and are masters in the art of paying compliments to one another.' *Behind the Veil* 81.
[42] *Ten Thousand* 457. Citation: *Journal U.S. Instit.* vol. i. p. 29.
[43] Wynn 97.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Percy Sykes Collection, box 4, notes by Sykes' son-in-law, Sir Patrick Reilly, on the drafting of the book, Middle East Centre Archive, Oxford.

Sykes gave on Parsees in Persia that 'there was no living Englishman with a greater knowledge of Persia.'[46] As mentioned earlier, Sykes' *The Glory of the Shia World* echoes Morier's *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. Sykes also wrote *A History of Persia* in 1915, which was regularly republished with additional material.[47] In the various genres with which he depicted his knowledge of Persia – travelogue, history, fiction – Sykes presents his wide-ranging knowledge of the country, both past and present. While often viewing the landscape through the eyes of previous legendary explorers, Sykes also makes room to depict the status quo of the country, and ways in which it develops. This is particularly evident in his regularly updated history books, printed with 'supplementary essays' including a depiction of Persia during WWI. Similarly, Hume-Griffith's work opens itself to discussion of modernity and change in Persia, most particularly in terms of the status of Persian women, to which this chapter now turns.

2.3 Mary Hume-Griffith: A Feminist Missionary Memoir

In the length of her residence in Persia, her experience of Kerman, and the attempted cultural colonisation of missionary work comparable with Sykes' cartographic colonising, Hume-Griffith's work provides an interesting comparison with Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles*. In the agency of her travel, however, Hume-Griffith has more in common with Ella, whose travels were similarly facilitated by a male relative. Hume-Griffith travelled because of her husband, and her marital status is emphasised in a contemporary review.[48] The field of British missionary work in Persia aligned with the British political sphere of influence. As Naghibi notes, 'the 1895 Anglo-American agreement to partition the mission field resembles… the territorial division in the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, as it was agreed that "the Presbyterians confine their work to northern Iran, leaving the south to the Anglican Church Missionary Society".'[49] Beyond these general connections, there are specific links between

[46] Wynn 152.
[47] Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia, 2 vol.* (London: Macmillan, 1915, 1921, and 1930).
[48] 'Behind the Veil of Persian Life: Mrs Hume-Griffith Draws a Pitiful Picture of Woman's Lot in Countries of the Near East,' *The New York Times*, 27th March 1909, page number not given, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F30C10FB3E5A12738DDDAE0A94DB405B898CF1D3, accessed 30 March 2012.
[49] Naghibi 5.

Hume-Griffith and the Sykeses. Hume-Griffith writes of her maid "Bagi" who had previously been employed by 'Miss Sykes.' Furthermore, archival research reveals Sykes had in 1899 written to the CMS condemning the possible presence of British lady doctors or nurses in Kerman as 'premature and impolitic,' and stressing his protective attitude towards his sister throughout her residence in Kerman.[50] Later he promised to give 'his active co-operation' as far as possible, but warned that he was rarely in Kerman.[51]

The CMS archives also reveal that Hume-Griffith's travelogue derives from official correspondence, much like Sykes' text. Dr Griffith's Annual Letters of Missionaries cover much of the same material as his wife's travelogue, particularly the chapters written by Dr Griffith on his medical work.[52] Incidentally, all contemporary references to the couple speak of Dr and Mrs Griffith; Mary assumed a double-barrelled *nom de plume* drawing on her husband's middle name. Mary Welchman and Alfred Hume Griffith had known each other for eight years by the time of their marriage in 1900; her brother, also a missionary, had married Alfred's sister in 1892. As Alfred's father had been a missionary in Ceylon in the 1870s, so Mary's brother William, who married Elizabeth Griffith in 1892, worked in the Ceylon mission in the 1890s. Mary's other brother Robert was also a missionary, in Lahore. Alfred Griffith was twenty-four when he was accepted as a missionary for the CMS on February 6th 1900; on February 27th he and Mary married; and on March 23rd he was accepted as Deacon for the Persia mission in Julfa, the Armenian quarter of Isfahan, and the couple spent three years in Persia, based in Julfa, Kerman and Yezd.[53]

'The Church Missionary Society was established by Evangelical Anglicans in 1799.' Susan Thorne, 'Missionary-Imperial Feminism,' *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, ed. Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp.39-65, 41.

[50] Letter 4, 1899, from Precis Book 18 October 1893-12 April 1905: 1893/104 – 1905/62, record number G2 PE/P2 1893-05, CMS Archives. Henceforth referred to as Precis Book 1893-1905.

The Precis Books list all letters received by the CMS office in London, and include a brief summary of the content of the letter. These contemporary catalogues offer a swift overview of CMS communications, and can guide readers to the original letters, most of which are still also available.

[51] Letter 60, 1900, Precis Book 1893-1905.

[52] *Annual Letters of the Missionaries*, 1900 (published 1901), pp.265-8; *Annual Letters of the Missionaries*, 1901 (published 1902), pp.328-31; *Annual Letters of the Missionaries*, 1902 (published 1903), pp.212-17. CMS Archives, Birmingham University.

[53] *Church Missionary Society: Register of Missionaries (Clerical, Lay, & Female), and Native Clergy, from 1804-1904* (Printed for private circulation), CMS Archives, Birmingham University. Alfred Hume Griffith, pp.401-2; Edward Moule Griffith (Alfred and Elizabeth's father), pp.145-6; William Welchman and Robert Welchman, p.368.

There are many reasons for including this missionary memoir in a study of otherwise secular British travel-writing on Persia, not least because its focus on women's domestic lives contrasts with Sykes' male-centric history and cartographically-minded text. Hume-Griffith's work depicts late Qajar Persia in considerable detail, especially in relation to women's lives. As Guli Francis-Dehqani notes, women missionaries are 'among the most reliable social commentators from that period, and it is incumbent upon us to take their comments seriously' however problematic we might find 'the familiar linguistic framework of Victorian evangelism.'[54] Women missionaries had 'close contact… with the ordinary people of Iran [which] was a rare experience for Europeans at the turn of the century' and in Hume-Griffith's case she would have been especially aware through her husband's work of the medical conditions which were most common.[55] Moreover, to elide the missionary experience of Persia between 1890 and 1940 would be to misrepresent the multi-faceted nature of the Anglo-Persian relationship of the era. While missionary life-writing will often have a different outlook or motivation, the desire to change Persia echoes the positions of figures such as Curzon and Sykes. Moreover, there are parallels between Ella and Hume-Griffith's experience of Persia; the texts of 'Christian Sisters and Intrepid Adventuresses' can be compared, as Nima Naghibi as done.[56] As one of the very few travelogues on Persia by women during the first two decades of the twentieth century, its representation of women's rights in terms of the harem and implicit reflections on the mobility of a British woman is a striking and modern development in the genre of British travel-writing on Persia.[57]

[54] Guli Francis-Dehqani, 'CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884-1934,' *The Church Mission Society, and World Christianity, 1799-1999*, ed. Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press Ltd, 2000), pp.91-119, 114.
[55] Francis-Dehqani, 113-4.
[56] Nima Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 'Chapter 1: Enlightening the Other: Christian Sisters and Intrepid Adventuresses.'
[57] See Appendix A, Edith Benn (1909), Dorothy De Warzée (1913), and Ella Sykes (1910).

Figure 8 - Map of Persia and the Eastern Part of Turkish Arabia, taken from* Behind the Veil *by M.E. Hume-Griffith

Dr Griffith's work enables Hume-Griffith's travel, and is discussed in two chapters by him in *Behind the Veil*. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the work of missionaries and missionary doctors both in the general and specific sense. Margaret Strobel writes that: 'The spread of Western education and medical skills obscured exploitative economic relations and the absence of political rights for colonized peoples at the same time that it led to some real improvements in their lives.'[58] There is therefore a tension between the contemporary reader's respect for vital medical knowledge and

[58] Margaret Strobel, 'Gender, Race, and Empire in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Africa and Asia,' *Becoming Visible: Women in European History, third edition*, ed. Renate Bridenthal, Susan Mosher Stuard and Merry E. Wiesner (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998) pp.389-414, 391.

treatment – the CMS had sought a married missionary and doctor for Kerman as early as 1898[59] – and the problematic desire to convert the population. Hume-Griffith's text contributes to our understanding of 'imperial missionary feminism,' suggesting ways in which imperial attitudes and self-belief in one's right to alter the religious and cultural practice of others extended beyond the borders of the formal British Empire. Hume-Griffith does not, however, offer a hagiography of her husband's work, and the religious converting zeal is underemphasised; instead the work considers mainly the rights of Persian women.

Studies which attempt to reclaim the British female experience and voice within the missionary project include *Women and Missions* and *Gendered Missions*, but these neither mention Hume-Griffith, nor offer much material on missions to Persia.[60] Guli Francis-Dehqani has however considered 'CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884-1934,' which contextualizes the Griffiths' work and Mary's text.[61] Within a multi-authored history of the Church Mission Society, Francis-Dehqani adopts a sympathetic stance towards missionary work, which she sees as 'part of the ongoing evangelical tradition of social action rooted in an individualistic understanding of spirituality dependent upon personal salvation.'[62] To solve the problems in society one needed not only 'religious transformation' but also 'for the love of God to be shown through benevolent action in order for people to experience and understand the need for change. Today this may be viewed as a patronizing assumption at best or an insuperable deadlock at worst.'[63] She stresses, however, that 'within the Victorian context':

> …the interdependence between these elements was taken for granted and seldom questioned. Both components – the spiritual and the physical – were regarded as necessary for the missionary task in its fullness. The source of missionary motivation was undoubtedly spiritual and was expressed as a desire for the personal salvation of converts. However, this did not represent a disingenuous approach to welfare work. The majority of CMS women in Iran could not have conceived of

[59] Letter 22, 1898, Precis Book 1893-1905.
[60] *Women and Missions: Past and Present – Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, ed. Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener (Providence and Oxford: Berg, 1993). *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, ed. Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999).
[61] See citation above.
[62] Francis-Dehqani 99-100.
[63] Francis-Dehqani 100.

> working for social improvement or the conversion of individuals without balancing one with the other.[64]

Therefore while the medical work undertaken by Dr Griffith was related to his missionary practice, it was not necessarily 'disingenuous.' A similar logic might be applied to Hume-Griffith's participation in what Francis-Dehqani labels 'a new and ground-breaking movement: assisting Persia's women to improve their own condition.'[65]

Such work was undertaken by missionary wives and unmarried women missionaries, the former being 'the silent partners in work that was, for the most part, indistinguishable from that carried out by single female colleagues' and might be 'extremely influential in significant ways.'[66] Moreover, the early work of missionary wives facilitated the later work of single women missionaries. Francis-Dehqani argues that: 'Missionary wives… completed the equation of Victorian womanhood by ensuring that the private world of domesticity was maintained' and therefore 'the single women were liberated to reinterpret the private world, moving it beyond the safe domain of domesticity into the public world of work.'[67] The lives of women missionaries could capture the public imagination: in 1916 a biography was published on Mary Bird, Isabella Bird's relative and the first single woman sent to Persia by the CMS.[68] Whether married or unmarried, these women could gain access to the *anderun* and the female population of Persia. The access to the women's quarters enabled, as Francis-Dehqani terms it, 'close ties of friendship based on genuine mutuality with individual Iranians' alongside 'an overall attitude of superiority toward the country,' a position which is exemplary of 'one of the most common paradoxes at the heart of the imperialist agenda.'[69] This intimacy with some Persian women enables a specificity of character portrait at odds with some of the generalizing tendencies of Orientalism. There is also a distinction drawn between women missionaries' depiction 'of Islam as an institution rather than Muslims as people with

[64] Francis-Dehqani 99-100.
[65] Francis-Dehqani 97.
[66] Francis-Dehqani 101.
[67] Francis-Dehqani 104.
[68] Clara C. Rice, *Mary Bird in Persia* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1916). Denis Wright, 'Bird, Mary Rebecca Stewart (1859–1914)', *ODBN*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38840, accessed 28 February 2012]
[69] Francis-Dehqani 106.

whom they were in relationship. Accordingly, it was much easier for them to denounce the whole nation without the need for personal criticism of particular individuals.'[70] Moreover, there is evidence both in general and in Hume-Griffith's work specifically, a distinction drawn between Persian and Arab women. Ignorance in Persian women was blamed on the lack of education for women, 'whereas… the Arabian women of Baghdad were criticized due to their apparently inherent limitations from a very young age.' Francis-Dehqani therefore argues that 'comments about Persian women's ignorance were due more to sociological observations about the condition of women, whereas in Baghdad unqualified remarks were presented as physiological truths.'[71] Hence, perhaps, the emphasis on the need for women's emancipation and education in Persia.

For all its engagement with contemporary anxieties about the emancipation of both British and Persian women, Hume-Griffith's wordy title is distinctly unmodern, harking back to sixteenth and seventeenth-century travelogues.[72] Furthermore, it echoes more recent works in its presentation of a European being 'behind' the veil. C. J. Wills had published a novel entitled *Behind an Eastern Veil* in 1894.[73] Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 1, Isabella Bird Bishop described using a veil to move freely around Qom in the 1890s. In contrast to Sykes' detail, Hume-Griffith's work shows striking brevity: three years in Persia are reduced to 122 broadly chronological and anecdotal pages by Hume-Griffith, and 29 by her husband on his own work.[74] The Griffiths' time in Persia was curtailed by Mary's ill-health, which contrasts with the emphasised resilience of Ella Sykes.[75]

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[70] Francis-Dehqani 108.
[71] Francis-Dehqani 111.
[72] *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia: An Account of an Englishwoman's Eight Years' Residence Amongst the women of the East… with narratives of experiences in both countries by A. Hume-Griffith.*
[73] C. J. Wills, *Behind an Eastern Veil: a plain tale of events occurring in the experience of a lady who had a unique opportunity of observing the inner life of ladies of the upper class in Persia* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1894).
[74] The second half of the book on Turkish Arabia (modern-day Iraq) is similarly structured, with thematic chapters rather than a chronological narrative, which again concludes with a chapter by the doctor on his work in Mosul and Nineveh.
[75] Hume-Griffith notes that others think differently of the climate: 'All agree, too, in saying that the climate is a very healthy one, provided the people living there have sound hearts!' (58)

Hume-Griffith suffered a 'sharp attack of dysentery' on the journey from England (Letter 69, 1900); was clearly ill again in late April and early May in Bouzabad (Letter 89, 1900); was quite well again by September (Letter 123, 1900); but in November of the following year was in bed with 'threatened heart failure' (Letter 166, 1901). Despite her illnesses, she passed her first language examination with 78% in December of 1901; Alfred scored 74% (Letter 168, 1901). After a visit from

Within this brief text, allusions to other Britons in Persia (including the homesick British consul in Kerman, Major Phillott) are prominent, suggesting an attempt to draw missionaries in line with other British travellers to Persia. References to missionaries are not as pronounced in non-missionary travelogues, although they formed a not-inconsiderable portion of the European community in Persia. Denis Wright notes that though 'conversions to Christianity were few and far between,' by 1919 'the CMS missionaries [in Persia], with their wives, numbered forty; nine were doctors and seventeen were married women, mostly nurses and teachers.'[76] Hume-Griffith's work stresses the couple's connections with the secular European community, an increasing sphere both in Teheran, and Kerman as they leave:

> On one occasion we actually mustered four Englishmen to dinner, as two travellers happened to be passing through at the same time, one of whom was Mr. Savage Landor, who entertained us with most harrowing accounts of his time amongst the Thibetans.[77] Just before we left two English ladies arrived, so the social life in Kerman began to grow, and to-day it boasts quite a number of Europeans, consisting of consuls of various nations, as well as missionaries, bank and telegraph employees. (71-2)

The mission in Kerman had been opened by Henry Carless, who gave prayers at the Sykeses' on Sundays. Both Hume-Griffith and Sykes write warmly on Carless, the former saying he 'gained the love and admiration of Moslem and Parsee alike.'[78] In their shared references to Carless and the late engineer Patrick Duncan, who sought artesian wells and died in the Griffiths' home, Hume-Griffith and Sykes' texts demonstrate the interconnected lives of secular, missionary, diplomatic and scientific

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a female doctor, the Griffiths were moved to Kerman in late 1902; she was ill again on the road (Letter 7, 1903).

Throughout 1902, the strain on Alfred was clearly a cause of some concern, and the CMS Persia Secretary George Durrant wrote sympathetically to Alfred (7th February 1902, George Durrant to Dr Griffith, G2 PE/LE 1898-1905, p.314). By December 1902, Durrant notes Alfred 'dreads taking her back to Yezd' (letter 28, 1903). In January 1903, Alfred sought a transfer to another Mission (Letter 31, 1903), Precis Book 1893-1905.

[76] Wright, 'Memsahibs,' 11. See also Church Missionary Society, *The Persia and Turkish Arabia Missions* (1909), Appendix II, for a breakdown of mission numbers from 1880 to 1907 in 'quinquennial periods.' During 1900-5 there were a total of 27 European Missionaries in Persia, seven of whom were wives, and another ten of whom were ladies.

[77] (Arnold) Henry Savage Landor was a half-Italian, half-British explorer, artist and travel-writer, whose two-volume narrative of his journey in Tibet, *In the Forbidden Land*, had been published by William Heinemann in 1898. T. C. Farmbrough, 'Landor, (Arnold) Henry Savage (1867–1924)', rev. ODNB, OUP, 2004; online edition, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37647, accessed 23 June 2010]

See Appendix A for details on his writings on Persia in *Across Coveted Lands* (1902).

[78] *Behind the Veil* 57. Carless died of typhoid. Church Missionary Society, *The Persia and Turkish Arabia Missions* (1909), p.24.

travellers to Persia.[79] Moreover Hume-Griffith's two main cited sources are familiar texts: 'Professor Browne's valuable book entitled "A Year amongst the Persians" for information on the Babi religion, and… Sir A. H. Layard's classical work on the excavations of Nineveh.' (Preface, viii) Hume-Griffith's emphasis on her connections with non-missionary travellers and texts implicitly requests that her text too be considered in the broader field of travelogues on Persia, and not only alongside other missionary life-writing.

The connection with Ella Sykes through the maid Bagi or Bargi has already been mentioned. Hume-Griffith thus draws on Sykes' experience, and also mimics her depiction of the tribulations of servants. Bagi is presented in relatively positive terms as someone who 'knew a little about Feringhi ways' and with a 'picturesque figure' and 'baggy trousers and her gaily covered overall' and on her head 'the usual number of coverings, in compliance with the Zoroastrian idea that a woman's head must be well covered!' (79) Much like Ella Sykes, however, Hume-Griffith fails to recognise or understand the central tenets of Zoroastrianism, and mocks Bagi's horror at being seen without her head covering much as Sykes mocked her fear of blowing out candles. (79) Unlike Ella's attempts at a *laissez-faire* attitude towards the tribulations of Persian domestic affairs, Hume-Griffith acknowledges boxing one of her servant's ears after an incident with a dessert; she concludes 'but really was the provocation not great?' (77) Thus while calling for emancipation for Persian women Hume-Griffith nervously maintains a violent imperial domesticity within her own home.

Bagi's headscarves are one of the recurring images of veils and restrictions on women's visibility that recur throughout Hume-Griffith's text. Grewal has argued that 'the orientalist trope of the "veil" and the "harem" was… essential' to a discourse which viewed 'the "oriental" woman as an example of submission' that 'symbolized' what European feminists were fighting against.'[80] The "oriental" woman was 'immobile… in seclusion at home, without any rights that brought them to the public arena.'[81] Particularly in the case of her own self-presentation and in her discussion of women in the *anderun*, Hume-Griffith engages with questions of mobility and

[79] *Behind the Veil* 58. *Ten Thousand Miles* 193.
[80] Grewal, *Home and Harem*, 66.
[81] Ibid.

visibility in relation to the veil. Unlike the invisible Percy, and Ella in a Victorian gown, Hume-Griffith presents herself on the frontispiece with her husband, both in 'Bakhtian Costume,' with Hume-Griffith holding a pipe in her hand. Her head is covered in this image, and her face exposed. Hume-Griffith subverts national boundaries as well as the concept of being 'behind' the Islamic veil, showing that a woman might wear it and make herself highly visible. Moreover, as Isabella Bird-Bishop used a chador to make her way around Qom, so does Hume-Griffith visit the bazaars of Kerman wearing a veil. These western women subvert a supposed signifier of the Oriental woman's submission, seclusion or repression, to facilitate their own mobility.[82] Thus in both instances in which Hume-Griffith steps 'behind' the veil as her title proclaims, she shares in no way the *anderun*-restricted existence of the Persian women whose attire she sometimes adopts:

> When we first got to Kerman I was told that I must on no account ride through the bazaars, as no Englishwoman had ever been seen in them. I might ride outside the town and view the bazaars from a safe distance, but this did not fall in with my ideas at all, and as soon as we were fairly settled down in our house I asked my husband to take me to see the bazaars. So one afternoon we started off to try the experiment, taking with us two servants, one to walk in front and one behind, my husband and I riding our horses. I will not say that as we entered the dark, dreary-looking archways leading to the bazaars my heart did not beat a little faster than usual, as I thought of all the horrible things which had been told me as to what *might* happen when first an Englishwoman was seen in the open bazaar. After a few minutes, however, I saw there was nothing to fear, for beyond a good stare and a few curses from some of the people, nothing happened. I had, of course, taken the precaution of wearing a thick veil. My second ride through these same bazaars was much more exciting. It was during the time of the Passion Play… After this experience I felt there certainly was no longer any need for fear, and since then we have all ridden and walked quite freely in and through the bazaars. Only once was I spat upon in Persia, and that was in Yezd. (79-81)

Dr Griffith apparently conceded more freedom to his wife than Percy did to his unmarried sister Ella; but it is notable that Hume-Griffith's mobility still requires the permission and accompaniment of her husband. In November 1898 A. R. Blackett wrote to the CMS offices in London arguing that 'the case of visiting select inhabitants by the sister of the British consul cannot be compared with that of a lady missionary going wherever sickness exists.' Referring to Ella Sykes' book, the writer emphasizes that 'her brother did not consider it safe for her to go inside the walls of

[82] Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, Vol. I, 214.

the city.'[83] Hume-Griffith's entry into the bazaar is thus a provocative rejection of the preconceived wisdom perpetuated by Percy Sykes.[84] The passage above is also noteworthy for its skilful crescendo, as the couple perform the roles of wealthy and upper-class figures, protected by a bodyguard of servants, entering into the bazaars, site of implied danger; as the exact nature of the risk is left undefined, the scintillated reader is left to speculate wildly. After this build-up, Hume-Griffith's disproval of British anxieties is all the more emphatic, although some might suggest 'a few curses' is not quite 'nothing.' Furthermore, this suggestion of vehement antipathy reminds the reader of the offensive light in which their missionary work could be interpreted. Her hardiness is not insisted upon by the text, and ill-health was responsible for upheavals in their life abroad; here, however, the female resilience is emphasised for political ends.

[83] Letter 3, 1899, Precis Book 1893-1905.
[84] Letter 4, 1899, Precis Book 1893-1905.

THE AUTHOR AND HER HUSBAND IN BAKHTIAN COSTUME

Dr. Hume-Griffith's dress is that of a chief, and is of blue cloth lined with red flannel: and the lady's is of richly-brocaded velvet, and her head-coverings are of very pretty muslin, embroidered with silk.

Figure 9 - Frontispiece, taken from* Behind the Veil *by M.E. Hume-Griffith

The female focus of Hume-Griffith's text is clear from the outset in the Preface:

> I have endeavoured in this book to give some account of that inner life of the East of which the traveller, however keen-sighted and intelligent, seldom gains more than a passing glimpse. In a residence of eight years in Persia and Turkish Arabia I have become intimate with a large circle of friends whose life is passed behind the veil, and as the wife of a medical missionary I have had unusual opportunities of winning their confidence and becoming acquainted with their thoughts. Of direct missionary effort I have said very little, but I hope that the picture I have given may arouse interest in lives spent amongst surroundings so different from our own. (Preface, vii)

One notes again a travel-writer's anxiety to express the validity of their experience through reference to the duration of their residence in the country, comparable to both Sykes siblings' texts. Hume-Griffith stresses too her affection for 'the dear Moslem women' and claims: 'after eight years spent amongst them, I can truly say that my love has deepened, and my sympathies become enlarged, for these charming but, also, too often unhappy followers of Mohammed.' (19) In Natanz Hume-Griffith writes problematically of women who 'all swarmed round like bees' but expresses delight at the interaction with the women through 'their gestures' as she was yet to master Persian. Her fountain pen is 'a cause of great amusement and astonishment, as were also my hairpins'; while the amusement at the incomprehension of these western objects by Persian women could be interpreted as patronising, one sees also Hume-Griffith's openness to interaction with Persian women. Unsure of her gender, one Persian peeps under Hume-Griffith's hat, and concludes she is a woman. (62) This echoes Isabella Bird-Bishop's depiction of curious nomadic women, and Sykes' awareness that she was an object of fascination to Persians as much as they were to her. Similarly in Aliabâd, 'occupied by Moslems of rather a fanatical type,' Hume-Griffith interacts with Persian women and tries to learn 'how to "tell the beads" according to the Moslem method" but finds it 'too intricate and difficult.' Instead she learns 'one very simple method of trying the beads for good or ill fortune' which she then shares with her reader. (67) Much of the emphasis of Hume-Griffith's engagement with Persia women is thus on personal interaction and elements of cultural exchange from Persian women to Hume-Griffith, rather than on conversion. Moreover, Hume-Griffith's narrative is notable for the individualised portrait of a Persian woman, 'H.R.H. Princess Hamadané Sultané' whom Hume-Griffith comes to know well in Yezd. (69, 90ff.) The prince-governor of Yezd gives his wife permission

to call on Hume-Griffith; and while this was the first time the princess had been allowed to pay a visit, and shows limited mobility, it reveals that not all Persian women were constantly imprisoned in the *anderun*. This interaction offers some counterpoint to Grewal's argument that 'few Englishwomen were interested in learning about the lives of women in the colonies… Few women, travellers or feminists (including even Sylvia Pankhurst), mention meeting women from these countries. If they do, they present them as "natives," never by name or as personalities who differ from each other.'[85] At other moments, however, Hume-Griffith does present this kind of generalised portrait.

The supposed desperate plight of 'The Women of Persia' is the topic of Chapter VII, and VIII is entitled 'More About Persian Women.' As in the case of other British women writing on Persia, Hume-Griffith writes on: the many questions asked of her by Persian women; the assumed misery of the harem and polygamy, only resolved if the wives are barren and thus have no cause for jealousy; the women belonging to their husbands; and the inelegant indoor costume which Persian women wish to overcome through draping their chadors as skirts or through dresses cut by Hume-Griffith for them.[86] Antoinette Burton draws attention to similar tropes on the Indian subcontinent:

> Largely as a result of the journalistic exposure given to the topic, by 1890s discussion of "the position of Indian women" had become so formulaic that one writer feared, "There is perhaps some danger of … [the public] becoming wearied by a too frequent repetition of the story" (Chapman, 1891). The recital of woes began with a description of the inside of the *zenana*, followed by observations of the relationship between an Indian husband and his wives, then commentary on the practice of child marriage, culminating in what was perceived as the final condemnation of Indian life: the treatment of widows as outcasts.[87]

It would be interesting to trace similarities in British women's representation of Muslim women in a variety of countries in the nineteenth century, but this is beyond the focus of this thesis. Here, the focus is on the unique fusion of Hume-Griffith's sense of Christian responsibility to bring about social change in Persia, and the

[85] Grewal, *Home and Harem*, 78.
[86] *Behind the Veil* 85, 88,101, 95-96.
[87] Antoinette Burton, 'The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and The Indian Woman, 1865-1915,' *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 13, No. 4, (1990), 295-308, p.303. Mrs. E. F. Chapman, *Sketches of some distinguished Indian women*, London: W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd, 1891.

language of the international feminist movement that she adopts for her calls to arms, as she describes Persian women as:

> …a martyr to the creed of Islam, which enables and allows men to treat their women as something lower than the beasts of the field.
>
> Ought not the cries of distress and agony from the poor women of Persia so to rouse us, their sisters in England, that we shall determine to do all that lies in our power to lighten their burdens and to bring some rays of light into the dark lives of our Eastern sisters?
>
> …If the wives of Persia could only be raised to the level of true womanhood I believe they would become good wives and mothers, but while they are what they are, how can there be any hope for them? There is nothing but utter darkness till the true light shines into their lives, and then and then only will the day break for these downtrodden, degraded beings. (103-4)

The language of Christian enlightenment bringing respite to the East is hardly new. Here, however, Hume-Griffith's work strikingly focuses on the *women* rather than the men. Pragmatically, there could be little change in the social position of women without the Persian men converting too. Ignoring this bind, however, Hume-Griffith focuses on the 'sisters' who might better fulfil their domestic roles as 'wives' and 'mothers' as emancipated Christians. The liberation Hume-Griffith proffers veers between domestically-bound Angels of the House, and physically and socially mobile women – as Hume-Griffith presents herself, moving freely in the bazaars. A paradox exists in calling for liberation but suggesting that British-modelled Victorian domesticity is sufficient freedom. As Thorne has commented: 'Missionary discourse thus projected the problem of women's oppression outward, to the empire; the obvious implication of the missionary critique of heathen patriarchy was that Britain's Christian homes were truly a fulfilling as well as safe haven.'[88] The call to arms Hume-Griffith presents to her British (female) readers is framed more consistently in terms of liberation than conversion, revealing that her political allegiances are given as much space here as her religious beliefs.

Dr Griffith's chapters strengthen his wife's argument about the horror of female seclusion, writing of the 'monotony of their lives behind the veil.' He adds that this 'is more especially true of the upper classes' wherein he has treated 'poor women' suffering from 'all the varying types' of 'hysteria.' (161) While Hume-Griffith relies

[88] Thorne 45.

on feminist discourse, calling for increased mobility as enjoyed by increasing numbers of British women, as well as incidentally Christian conversion, her husband relies on descriptions of the mental ill-health of these women for his calls for change. By linking their troubles to seclusion and boredom, Griffith affirms his wife's depiction of the harem as the source of harm.

In contrast, Hume-Griffith's horror at Kerman's carpet sweatshops filled with 'hundreds' of eight- and nine-year-old 'confirmed cripples,' relies on God's intervention rather than British social activism. (44-5) She writes: 'When we think of the sufferings of these hundreds of poor innocent children, do not our hearts ache with sadness for them? Surely the "Cry of the Children" of Kerman will go up to God, and He will have mercy.' (45) Indeed, an attempt made by the consul Major Phillott to undermine the child labour was unsuccessful, perhaps explaining why Hume-Griffith has abandoned the apparently doomed children's cause ('So long as children are to be had for a mere nominal wage, so long will the weavers use them, caring nothing for their sorrows, only bent on making money – the god of the Persian.'), and focuses on the women's rights. (45-6) Inderpal Grewal, considering writing on the Indian sub-continent, argues that the kind of language highlighted here is not necessarily feminist: 'it is not only feminists who refer to Indian women as "exploited" and "oppressed" but all middle-class British women who do so; British feminist discourse is thus on a continuum with other discourses within England, though the subjects' positions are different.'[89] The distinction between Hume-Griffith's writing on the children and the women suggests, however, that the tone intended by Hume-Griffith was explicitly feminist. Moreover, Grewal writes: 'Travel that was secular, for reasons other than pilgrimage, was taken to imply a mobility that was synonymous with freedom and rights for women.'[90] Hume-Griffith challenges this statement in her presentation of travel motivated by religion, which still implies and presents a mobility synonymous with rights for women, which she wishes to extend to Persian women, related, however, to religion.

This discussion of women's rights centres on urban spaces, experienced by the Griffiths during moments of relative stasis in their experience of Persia. In contrast,

[89] Grewal, *Home and Harem*, 60.
[90] Grewal, *Home and Harem*, 65.

travels through the deserts are described with explicit Christian celebration: 'no one can live and travel in the desert without feeling the majestic Presence of God. Everything speaks of Him, the great sea of sand, the flowers springing into blossom at His word, the tiny lizard darting across your path, and other countless creatures, all finding life and sustenance in the desert, each telling of the wonderful Creator who watches over and cares for all.' (130-1) These open spaces are spiritually affirming for Hume-Griffith, confirming God's omnipotence and omniscience. While other writers might not use Hume-Griffith's explicitly Christian discourse, the wide-open spaces of Persia and its unfamiliar deserts often inspire similar euphoria in other travellers. Hume-Griffith's descriptions of urban spaces are however what set this text apart, in its focus on women's status in Persia, and its emphasis on the need for British intervention. This analysis has offered a contribution to discussions of what Burton terms 'the emergence of an imperialized feminism, with white women at the top of an imaginative, but no less hegemonic feminist world order.'[91] Hume-Griffith's work within the parameters of this thesis also demonstrates the breadth of British travel-writing on Persia, away from political analyses or records of cartographic achievements, to the essentially unsuccessful sphere of missionary work. This study has attempted to rectify a certain imbalance between secular and missionary travelogues, for as Thorne has said, 'foreign missions were a vital if underexamined link between the British feminist movement and the developments in the empire.'[92]

Behind the Veil was published in a Dutch translation in 1917.[93] Hume-Griffith also wrote *Dust of Gold: An account of the work of the C.E.Z.M.S. among the blind and deaf of India, China and Ceylon*, which was published in 1927; this is not a travelogue, but more a record of the exclusion of these children within the countries in question, and the work of the C.M.S. in rehabilitating them. Like *Behind the Veil*, exhortations to the reader at home are frequent.[94] Critical references to Hume-Griffith are few and far between, although Nadia Atia mentions her in passing in terms of

[91] Burton 301.
[92] Thorne 52.
[93] *Achter den Sluier in Perzië en Turksch Arabië*, as part of a series on the world and its people, or *De Aarde en haar Volken* (Haarlem, Kruseman & Tjeenk Willink, 1917).
[94] M. E. Hume-Griffith, *Dust of Gold. An account of the work of the C.E.Z.M.S. among the blind and deaf of India, China, and Ceylon, etc.* (London: Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1927).

British perceptions of Mesopotamia.[95] It seems likely that, unlike the Sykes siblings, Curzon or Isabella Bird-Bishop, Mary never travelled to the Middle East again.

2.4 Conclusion

Like the contrast drawn between Curzon and Ella Sykes, a comparison of Percy Sykes' and Hume-Griffith's works highlight similar gendered differences in British travelogues on Persia. It is worth reiterating that Sykes' work depicts the British cartographic colonization of Persia, and Hume-Griffith records the attempted cultural colonization of missionary work, which could be turned into an imposition of Western influenced mobility for Persian women. Together, the works highlight the ways in which Britons lived and travelled in Persia at the turn of the century, how they might engage with Persian culture quite differently, and how lengthy residences could be converted into strikingly different forms. Furthermore, the works demonstrate a loosening of the parameters of travel-writing on Persia to more fluid relations with other genres and other discourses – that of the twentieth-century businessman, or the suffragette. Sykes' work occasionally calls for future writers – such as a much needed history of Baluchistan, or works which might aid British knowledge of Persian. On the whole, however, his work, like Curzon's, seeks to demonstrate a completion of knowledge. Sykes has travelled widely throughout Persia and mapped it well; little exploration work remains to be done. Hume-Griffith, in contrast, uses her text as an opening for further work. By rousing British women to action in the international sisterhood, Hume-Griffith opens the door to further activity, travel, and travelogues. It is ironic, therefore, that women's travelogues fade away for the next decade or so within the field of British travel-writing on Persia. The genre changes markedly from these peacetime works with the advent of the Constitutional Revolution, and the journeys discussed in the next chapter are war-focused, brief, intense, and all undertaken by men.

[95] Nadia Atia, 'A relic of its own past: Mesopotamia in the British imagination 1900-14,' *Memory Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 232 (2010), 232-241.

Chapter 3: Revolutionary Travel-writing: The Persia Society, Committee, Constitutional Revolution and a Changing Genre, 1909-1916

3.1 Introduction

Against the backdrop of profound political upheaval in Persia between 1905 and 1911 a number of British works on the country appeared: some travelogues, some polemics, many drawn from earlier publications in newspapers and journals, highlighting the links between journalism and travel-writing. This chapter compares the quickly written book by *The Times* journalist and established travel-writer David Fraser, and the more reflective work of Arthur Moore, another witness of the atrocities of the civil war, but from the opposite political point of view. Information and opinions on Persia were also disseminated through two London-based institutions: the campaigning cross-party political group, the Persia Committee; and the independent, academic and social Persia Society. In closing, this chapter explores *Travels in the Middle East*, the literary and light-hearted travelogue of a solider, T. C. Fowle, who visited Persia in 1912-13. Fowle's work contrasts with Fraser and Moore's in its appreciation of travel for travel's sake as well as explicit discussion of what subjects are essential to a travelogue on Persia.

The Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11 was an expression of frustration against the unilateral rule of the Shah, as well as tightened customs rules, a result of inflation. In July 1906 secular constitutionalists sought refuge in the grounds of the British legation in Teheran, partly as the right of *bast* or sanctuary had been limited in shrines and mosques. From this gathering it seems that a cohesive demand for a national assembly emerged. Mozaffar-al-Din Shah conceded the creation of this body (the Majles or Majilis) in August 1906, and it first opened in October 1906 and began to debate a constitution. Mozaffar-al-Din Shah died just forty days later, and was succeeded by his son Mohammed-Ali Shah. The Majles struggled to tackle the breadth of reforms required, as well as the poor financial situation of the country, and met considerable resistance from various bodies. In December 1907 conflicts came to a head, and the Majles was attacked. Mohammed-Ali Shah's attempted coup failed,

but the following summer tensions flared again, resulting in civil war. In May 1909 the Shah conceded the restitution of the constitution, and the second Majles convened in November. Meanwhile in July 1909 Mohammed-Ali Shah was deposed in favour of his twelve year old son, Ahmad Shah. The situation remained unstable; British forces were sent to Shiraz and Isfahan, and an American financial advisor, Morgan Shuster, came to Teheran in May 1911 to advise on the country's financial affairs. His residence was short-lived, and in 1912 he published a book on his experiences, powerfully entitled *The Strangling of Persia: A record of European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue*. Shuster's actions enraged Russia, and Britain and Russia both invaded much of the country in December 1911.[1] Thus the independence of Persia which the 1907 Anglo-Persian agreement had ratified had proved 'largely spurious.'[2]

This 1907 Agreement, ratified on 31st August 1907, had gone some way towards resolving tensions between Britain and Russia over Persia, but was met with anger in Persia itself, which was not informed of the agreement 'until after its conclusion.' Harold Temperley in 1924 considered the agreement to have been 'very disadvantageous' to Great Britain, not least because Russia's sphere included Ispahan, Yezd and Teheran, while Britain was granted 'the province of Kirmán, the south-eastern corner of Persia conterminous with Baluchistan and Afghanistan.'[3] Temperley argues that the general opinion of the late 1900s and early 1910s was that held by Percy Sykes; namely that Tsarist Russia wanted to annexe northern Persia, but that the Convention might have held it back slightly.[4] On modern interpretations of the Convention, Christopher Ross writes: 'Although scholars remain divided as to whether Britain's growing concern for the German menace or its perennial fear of Russia served as the primary inspiration, there is consensus that the convention exerted a pernicious influence upon the future course of Anglo-Iranian relations.'[5]

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[1] Vanessa Martin, "Constitutional Revolution ii. Events," *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 1992, Last Updated: October 28, 2011, This article is available in print: Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp.176-187

[2] Mansoureh Ettehadieh, "Constitutional Revolution: iv. The aftermath," *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 1992. Last Updated: October 28, 2011. This article is available in print: Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp.193-199.

[3] H.W.V. Temperley, 'The Liberation of Persia,' Chapter I, Part V, pp.206-217, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*. *Vol. VI,* ed. H.W.V. Temperley, (London: Henry Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton, 1924), p.207.

[4] Temperley, 208. Quoting Sir Percy Sykes, *Persia*, 148.

[5] Christopher N. B. Ross, 'Persia Committee (*act.* 1908–1914)', *ODNB*, OUP, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/100991, accessed 11 October 2010]

Recalling that *bastis* sought refuge in the British Legation in Teheran in July 1906, Ross writes that: 'Although many Persian revolutionaries expected Britain, as the progenitor of modern constitutionalism, to extend its support to the new regime, such hopes proved misplaced. Rather than rallying to their cause the Foreign Office chose to make a deal with autocratic Russia. At a single stroke the future of the nascent constitutional order was placed in jeopardy.'[6] Economically, Britain's relationship with Persia developed rapidly following the discovery of oil in the country in 1908. In 1900 William Knox D'Arcy 'was offered the chance of acquiring an oil concession in Persia, by a cosmopolitan Persian official, General Antoine Kitabgi, through the introduction of a former British Minister in Persia, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff.'[7] Ronald Ferrier argues that the instability of Persia under the Shahs of the 1900s and 1910s directly influenced the response to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company: 'When central authority in Persia was weak and local autonomy strong, the Company suffered from insecurity and uncertainty, but when the central administration was effectively controlled as under Riza Shah [in the 1920s], resentment against the Company became sharper. The early absence of stable political institutions prejudiced attitudes and complicated negotiations.'[8] On many levels, then, the increasing instability of the Persian authorities in the face of calls for reform, and the ensuing civil war, was a source of concern to Britain, and followed closely through various media including The Persia Committee.

3.2 Persophiles, The Persia Committee and The Persia Society

A 1912 review of E.G. Browne's *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909* labels the author 'distinctly a Persophile'.[9] The word does not appear in the *OED*, but a body of men who might thus be labelled is evident in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century. Browne's 1893 travelogue *A Year Amongst the Persians* had less impact than Curzon's of the previous year; but signalled the beginning of a lengthy career in academia based in Cambridge, considering Persian literature, history, and

[6] Ibid.
[7] R. W. Ferrier, 'Introduction,' pp.1-14, *The History of the British Petroleum Company: Volume 1, The Developing Years, 1901-1932* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.5.
[8] Ferrier 6-7.
[9] Albert H. Lybyer, "Review: [untitled]", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (August 1912), 476-479.

contemporary politics. With the traveller, businessman and Liberal MP Henry Lynch, Browne found himself at the centre of the dissemination of information about upheavals in Persia. The Persia Committee (1908-1914) was famous, or infamous, for its espousal of the Constitutionalists' cause. The Committee was a political body, intent on achieving the restitution of the Constitution in Persia. The Persia Society (1911-1929) similarly sought to draw attention to Persia, but through the knowledge of its members in various spheres from their research or travels in the region. While other societies including the Royal Geographical Society and the Central Asian Society also held lectures on Persia, it was the Committee and the Society which controlled between them much of the public perception of Persia in the metropolis, and succeeded in raising public awareness of and interest in Persia. Fraser's letters to *The Times* would also have shaped some Britons' understanding of political events in Persia, and Moore passed information to Browne and the Persia Committee: both men thus contributed directly to London based figures' understanding of the upheavals. Although both the Society and the Committee have separately been the subject of study by historians, they are here considered in parallel to shed light on the variety of forms in which Persophiles presented their works. Moreover, this analysis argues that the division of political and academic or cultural matters between the two reflects the development of travel-writing on Persia.

The Committee and the Society shared members: Lynch was founder of both, and Browne was Vice-Chairman of the former, and co-founder of the latter. Charles Baillie was President of both, and Sir Thomas Barclay a member of the Committee's Executive Committee by 1911, and Council Member of the Society from its inception. The Earl of Ronaldshay was an early member of the Society and had worked with the Committee. The more general memberships of the pairs showed some differences, reflecting their contrasting ambitions.[10] The Committee's

[10] Lynch's father and uncles founded the Lynch Brothers firm in 1841 which exported goods from England to Basrah, and also the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company in 1862. Christopher N. B. Ross, 'Lynch, Henry Finnis Blosse (1862–1913)', *ODNB*, OUP, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/100992, accessed 2 November 2010] Baillie was a traveler affiliated to the Royal Geographical Society; Governor of Queensland from 1896-1901; and administrator of Bombay from 1903 to 1907. Alfred Cochrane, 'Baillie, Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Ross Cochrane-, second Baron Lamington (1860–1940)', rev. Marc Brodie, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30531, accessed 2 November 2010] Ronaldshay, born Lawrence Dundas, travelled widely and was Conservative MP from 1907. He later was appointed Governor of Bengal, and was Curzon's official biographer. Philip Woods, 'Dundas, Lawrence John

membership 'fluctuated considerably, linked as it was to the changing fortunes of the constitutionalist cause.'[11] As an explicitly multi-partisan group, the diversity of political affiliations of its members was stressed. As Ross notes, Browne in 1909 could emphasise that the committee included '"not only Liberal Imperialists, Liberal Unionists, Radicals, and Labour members, but also at least one eminent Conservative" (The Times, 20 Sept 1909).' This last figure was Lord Lamington, whose participation reflected a Conservative 'concern for the security of the Raj (and their consequent nightmare of a Persia ruled by a Russian-backed shah).' The membership of Lamington and other Conservatives, Ross comments, 'succeeded both in enhancing the group's visibility and serving "as a shield against blanket characterization of committee members as extremist radicals" (Bonakdarian, Britain and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 203).'[12] One can characterise the Committee's members as those with political beliefs that drew them to defend Persia's cause, while the Society drew together experts on Persia, its culture and history, and not necessarily figures seeking the country's emancipation from old systems of government. The Committee's 'stated objectives' were 'to stimulate public interest in the Persian people and their efforts to reform their country and to influence British public opinion to support the restoration of the 1906 constitution.' The Committee's tactics included 'a high-profile campaign of parliamentary speeches, public meetings and lectures, and, most significantly, a steady stream of publications, all extolling the Persian constitutionalists and denouncing Grey's diplomacy as the betrayal of a people on the verge of democracy.'[13] The pinnacle of the Committee's publicity drawing measures was a meeting in London on January 15th 1912 at London's Opera House:

> According to The Times, 'the Opera House, which accommodates about 3,000 people, was quite filled. It was stated that the place could have been filled twice over.'[67] The meeting, which reflected the extent of public interest in Iran, was presided over by Sir Thomas Barclay,[68] and the principal speakers included E.G. Browne, H.N. Brailsford (of the Nation), T. Fisher Unwin, H.F.B. Lynch, J. Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Ponsonby, Philip Morrell, J.S. Fletcher (Unionist MP) and a

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Lumley, second marquess of Zetland (1876–1961)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32932, accessed 2 November 2010]

[11] Ross, 'Persia Committee.'

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid. Edward Grey was Foreign Secretary from December 1905 to December 1916. Keith Robbins, 'Grey, Edward, Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1862–1933)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33570, accessed 30 March 2012]

> host of other dignitaries. Messages were also delivered on behalf of Lord Lamington, Lord Courtney of Penrith,[69] the Bishop of Hereford, and G.M. Trevelyan (the prominent historian), who had been unable to attend the meeting.[70] [14]

It is clear that one can refute the opinion of David McLean, that 'Persia never really captured the public imagination.'[15] Later in 1912 the Committee published a pamphlet by Browne, entitled *The Reign of Terror at Tabriz: England's Responsibility*, which accused 'Grey of abetting Russian massacres at the close of the previous year in northern Iran.'[16] Bonakdarian notes: 'It was evident, from Grey's continued policy of silence, that the campaign… would again fail to result in a major shift in Grey's Iranian policy.'[17] Twenty-two months after the huge London meeting Lynch died, and Browne seemed likely to take over the running of the Committee, but its future appeared bleak. By the spring of 1914 it seemed inevitable that 'the portentous moment of Iran's expected partition was finally drawing near.'[18] By August the tensions in Europe fostered a revival of support for the long-running Foreign Secretary Grey, and: 'The Iranian question could no longer preoccupy Grey's former critics, and this led to the disintegration of the Persia Committee.'[19] At its peak, however, it had drawn immense attention to the fate of Persia, against the backdrop of which Fraser and Moore's texts were published. Moreover, Bonakdarian stresses its success in securing amnesty for Constitutionalists in London as well as clear, public, British support for the restoration of the Persian Constitution.[20]

The Persia Society in contrast was, as Denis Wright notes, 'a non-political body designed "to promote the sympathy existing between the British and Persian nations".'[21] Curzon, however, gave the opening speech to the Society on the subject

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[14] Bonakdarian, 'The Persia Committee,' 199. Fn. 67: *The Times*, 16 January 1912, p.7. Fn. 68: Sir Thomas Barclay - a distinguished Radical M.P. and the founder of the International Brotherhood Alliance (1905) - was renowned for his promotion of better relations with Germany. Fn. 69: Lord Courtney had served as the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1880-81; Under-Secretary of State for the Colonial Office, 1881-82; Unionist M.P. for Cornwall, Bodmin Div., 1885-1900. Fn. 70: *Manchester Guardian*, 15 January 1912, p.7; *The Times*, 16 January 1912, p.7.
[15] David McLean, 'A Professor Extraordinary: E. G. Browne and His Persian Campaign 1908-1913,' *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Jun., 1978), 399-408, p.407.
[16] E. G. Browne. *The Reign of Terror at Tabriz. England's Responsibility* (Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co., 1912). Bonakdarian, 'The Persia Committee,' 204.
[17] Bonakdarian, 'The Persia Committee,' 204.
[18] Ibid, 205.
[19] Ibid, 205.
[20] Ibid, 206-7.
[21] Denis Wright, 'The first sixty five years: 1935 – 2000,' The Iran Society, http://www.iransociety.org/sixtyfive_1.htm, accessed 25 October 2010, p.1

of 'Persian Autonomy', having refused to join the Persia Committee.[22] Ross comments that given Curzon's previous announcements on Persians, 'various portions of the speech suggest Curzon may well have been more concerned with winning over the audience than being true to his convictions.'[23] Other lectures were directed towards what Curzon might term the 'desultory sympathies' of the 'amateur.' The former Minister-plenipotentiary at Tehran, Henry Durand, spoke on 'The Charm of Persia' in March 1912; his wife Ella published the similarly lightweight *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia* in 1902.[24] Durand opened his paper announcing: 'I am not going to talk about politics or diplomacy; they are rather dangerous subjects. My subject is a more pleasing one altogether, the Charm of Persia; and I am going to confine myself rigidly to that.'[25] Percy Sykes spoke on 'Persian Manners and Customs' in 1913, much as his sister had written *Persia and its People* in 1910. Browne's talk on 'The Literature of Persia', also given in 1912, came between the publication of the first and the second volumes of his *History of Persian Literature*. He cites 'the short time at my disposal today' as reason for the relatively introductory nature of his talk, and also acknowledges the range of knowledge his audience might have.[26] Even non-experts were invited to speak, such as Sir Frederick Pollock in February 1913, who conceded that he had never been to Persia and could only read Persian with a dictionary at hand, yet nonetheless hoped 'the experience of a novice' might prove encouraging to others contemplating study of the language.[27] Lynch spoke in 1912 on 'The Importance of Persia' and was confined by time to 'the outline of [the] subject.'[28] Considering contemporary British and Russian interests in the country, Lynch urges restraint and 'common prudence' on the part of the two Powers rather than reckless action which might lead to an impossible stalemate.[29]

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[22] Bonakdarian, 'The Persia Committee,' 196. George Curzon, 'Persian Autonomy,' *Lectures Given to the Persia Society*, 15th November 1911, London (John Hogg). For publication details see Appendix A.
[23] Ross, 'Lord Curzon and E. G. Browne confront the 'Persian Question,' *The Historical Journal*, 52, 2 (2009), 385-411, p.403.
[24] Durand 'served as a director of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1911 to 1919 and as president of the Central Asian Society from 1914 to 1917,' and his biographer was Percy Sykes. H. V. Lovett, 'Durand, Sir (Henry) Mortimer (1850–1924)', rev. S. Gopal, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32941, accessed 2 November 2010] Percy Sykes, *The Right Honourable Sir Mortimer Durand: A biography* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1926).
[25] Durand, 'The Charm of Persia,' 3.
[26] Browne, 'The Literature of Persia,' 5-6.
[27] Pollock, 'A Little Persian Not A Dangerous Thing,' 4.
[28] Lynch, 'The Importance of Persia,' 12.
[29] Ibid.

Another speech acknowledged the disturbing actions of Russian forces in the north of the country. Morgan Philips Price's talk, 'A Journey through Azerbaijan and Persian Khurdistan,' given on 7th March 1913, describes Persians hung by Cossacks for daring to speak against Russian occupation – tactics also addressed by Browne in his pamphlet *The Reign of Terror at Tabriz*. Price refuses to account for the current chaos in Persia 'by attributing to the Persians as a race a lack of political intelligence or of culture.'[30] This speech or travel lecture thus refutes disparaging analyses of the Persian character, and also acknowledges the 'charms [of Persia] which fascinate travellers in the East.'[31] This talk was followed by less politically engaged talks, including Syed Ameer Ali's talk on 'Persian Culture' in June of 1913, and Alexander Finn's talk 'Some Reminiscences of a Stay in Persia,' also given in 1913.[32] The Persia Society on the whole, therefore, offered introductory papers by experts on apolitical topics, and only occasionally accounts by recent travellers, as these might tend towards political or polemic lectures not suited to the aims and tone of the society. Certainly the Council was made up of prominent Persophiles whose knowledge was extensive; but the public forum into which they spoke called for generally apolitical and gently enlightening talks. In a development which parallels the evolution of travel-writing, therefore, it is possible to see in the lectures of the Persia Society, experts on Persia taking care to present their ideas and knowledge with a wide and often amateur audience in mind.

Whilst political pressures contributed to the cessation of the Persia Committee, the Persia Society continued to function throughout WWI and thereafter, although its activities declined during the war. Together the Society and the Committee contributed to the consolidation of a body of Persophiles in the metropolis, and also an increasing separation between political analyses, and narratives of personal travel experience, or exposition of cultural, artistic or linguist information. One sees for example in Fowle's work the rejection of all political matters in favour of a more subjective and literary portrait of his time in Persia. Female participation in the Society and its publications seems to have been minimal: indeed only one travelogue

[30] Price, 'A Journey through Azerbaijan and Persian Khurdistan,' 5.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Syed Ameer Ali was a prominent Indian lawyer, judge, social reformer and scholar of Islam who eventually settled in England. 'Making Britain: Discover how South Asians shaped the nation, 1870-1950' http://www8.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/, accessed 4 April 2012.

on Persia by a woman appears in the second decade of the twentieth century. This work transcribes the author's experiences in thematic sections rather than through a linear narrative, and avoids discussion of contemporary events.[33] Dorothy De Warzée acknowledges that the 'Revolutions of 1906 and 1909 have been fully described by so many different authors' but contributes to the field with 'a short account of the historical events of 1911 and the beginning of 1912' which she believes 'will not be without interest.'[34] Her summary of the events covered by Fraser, Moore and others, as well as the more recent aftermath is perfunctory, and naively optimistic: 'Persia has always shown a persistent power of recuperation; and perhaps this quality may again be exemplified. May a happy solution be found for all her troubles and may peace and prosperity descend upon her.'[35] In the still populous field of British travel-writing on Persia during the early years of the twentieth century, the political state in Persia implicitly excluded women from writing on their experiences in Persia, although an image exists of British women and children in Persia in 1908. Nevertheless, in published travelogues British women's voices had been more apparent in the *fin-de-siècle*, and their mobility in Persia had been evident and increasing since 1890. Not until the 1920s did British women writers publish on Persia again.

European ladies at the British Legation Races at Gulhak, Persia, 1908. The Legation's summer residence was stationed in the hills at Gulhak, just outside Tehran. Women and their families always came here for several months each year to escape the burning heat of the plains.

Figure 10 - from Daughters of Britannia by Katie Hickman[36]

[33] Dorothy De Warzée, Baroness d'Hermalle, *Peeps into Persia* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Limited, 1913).
[34] de Warzée 224.
[35] Ibid, 237.
[36] Katie Hickman, *Daughters of Britannia: The lives and times of diplomatic wives* (London: Flamingo, 2000).

3.3 David Fraser and Arthur Moore: Remembering the Revolution

The period between the American Civil War and the First World War was a "Golden Age" for the war correspondent, because of the rise of the popular press, the increasing use of the telegraph, and the tardy introduction of organised censorship.[37]

"As far as you can as quickly as you can" must be the motto of the war correspondent.[38]

Two first-hand witnesses to the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1909 formulated entirely opposing political views on the conflict, and produced almost startlingly different texts. David Fraser published *Persia and Turkey in Revolt* in 1910, and Arthur Moore's *The Orient Express* appeared in 1914.[39] Fraser travelled as a conservative journalist and Moore as a revolutionary, and their multi-faceted texts contain elements of war memoir and war journalism within what can still be termed travelogues. The radical shift in tone in British travel-writing on Persia from the previous two decades demonstrates the extent to which the contemporary political climate shaped the genre. Both works stem from already published articles, thus sharing attributes with Curzon's letters to *The Times*, or Sykes' lectures. Fraser rushed to publish his work in September 1910, while Moore's appeared five years after his travels: Fraser's work is notable for its immediacy, and Moore's for its questioning of memory.

The career of a foreign correspondent at the turn of the twentieth century could be very profitable. Roy Jenkins considers Winston Churchill's letters for *The Daily Telegraph* from North-Western India, following British troops' experiences 'against rebellious Pathan tribesmen in the Swat Valley' in 1897.[40] These 'front-line despatches to the *Morning Post* or the *Daily Telegraph*' could earn him £15 or £20 each.[41] By 1899, Churchill negotiated with *The Morning Post* to report on the Boer War: '£250 a month for a four-month assignment (the equivalent of a modern salary

[37] Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The war correspondent as hero, propagandist and myth-maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (London: André Deutsch, 2003), p.43.
[38] Winston Spencer Churchill, *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), p.42.
[39] David Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt* (London & Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1910). Arthur Moore, *The Orient Express. Sketches of travel in Persia and the Balkans* (London: Constable & Co., 1914).
[40] Roy Jenkins, *Churchill* (Basingstoke and Oxford: Macmillan, 2001), pp.29-30
[41] Jenkins 28.

of £160,000) plus all expenses.'[42] Churchill too had turned newspaper reports into books, from one of which the 'motto of the war correspondent' given at the beginning of this section is drawn.[43] When considering the dangers Fraser and Moore ran, it is worth remembering this financial aspect of their profession, as well as a certain adventurousness: Churchill 'was happy, even exhilarated, to run considerable risks to provide himself with good copy.'[44]

Scottish Fraser was himself no stranger to running 'considerable risks' in the name of good copy. As Special Correspondent to *The Times* he had written on the Russo-Japanese War, and published on his travels in modern-day Iraq.[45] *The Marches of Hindustan* (1907) describes Persia briefly. Like many other travelogues it is dedicated to British officials abroad, and refers to Curzon, pointing to his text's still high status, fifteen years after publication. To Fraser it is a 'mine of information, not only of his own observations but of those of every previous traveller,' and it is now therefore 'impossible to write of the appearance or history of anything without utilizing Curzon.' Fraser 'continually' makes use of this 'compilation.' He has failed to catch Curzon 'tripping' but 'when he does, I will enlarge on it, for I feel somewhat piqued that he has left me so little occasion for original observation.'[46] Fraser comments on Curzon's intellectual rigour, as he 'wipes the floor' with historians who have, to his mind, misread Alexander's route as he trailed Darius. Fraser notes these 'trenchant sentences' which have 'caused him to be so revered in Indian Secretariats.'[47] This casual language, using wiping the floor as a metaphor for academic critique, is one of the hallmarks of Fraser's writing style. Fraser's response to Curzon also presents Fraser's wry writing style and use of humour. His work is also notable for his telescoping of historical perspective, towards an intense preoccupation with the recent

[42] Ibid, 50.
[43] Winston Spencer Churchill, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force: An episode of frontier war* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898).
[44] Jenkins 31.
[45] David Fraser, *A Modern Campaign; or, War and wireless telegraphy in the Far East* (London: Methuen & Co., 1905); *The Short Cut to India: the record of a journey along the route of the Baghdad Railway* (William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh & London, 1909). In the Preface to the former he is careful to note that 'the descriptions of fighting, which appear in this volume, were all written a few days after each battle, while events were fresh in my mind.'
[46] David Fraser, *The Marches of Hindustan* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1907), pp.432-3.
[47] *Marches* 445.

past and first-hand experience; and finally, his depiction of his experience of the front line in Teheran.

A certain levity is evident in Fraser's description of his call to Persia by *The Times* in 1909, describing the telephone conversation as a welcome respite from 'the repulsive task of correcting proofs' and freedom from 'all these heaps of trash.'[48] Fraser's writing is self-deprecatingly presented, and travel an opportunity to produce new fresh work. For Fraser, Persia is not necessarily a site for historical research, exploration, or diplomatic or missionary intervention. Similarly, it has not yet become a site for travel for travel's sake. Instead, during this period of upheaval, it is a basic source of copy for newspapers, and Fraser sent reports back to London for several months. Fraser's wry Preface marks him as a jobbing writer rather than a esoteric researcher, or someone caught up in the politics of the region. Nevertheless, like many others, the appeal of being on the road is evident: 'all at once it seemed as if the only thing in life worth having was to be loosed where the world was stirring.' (Preface, vi)

Fraser's initial plans are thwarted by the 'masterly inactivity' of the war upon his arrival.[49] Rather than joining either 'the Bakhtiaries or the Revolutionaries in their advance upon Teheran,' Fraser independently undertakes 'the abominable journey from the Caspian' and tamely enters Teheran 'in a four-horse stage-carriage.' (1-2) The stagnation of the war moves the memoir closer to the travelogue form as a typical journey south to Teheran is described. As he adapts to this new environment, Fraser is again thwarted by the winter scenes: 'the reality was so different from the rose-scented dreamland that is the Persia of one's imagination.'[50] As both war zone and yet still the scene of old beauties of the imagination, poetry, and older travel-writing, Persia more than ever becomes a multi-faceted vision in the eyes of the British beholder.

[48] *Revolt*, 'Preface,' v. This must refer to *The Short Cut to India*, published in 1909.
[49] The term 'masterly inactivity' recalls the discourse of the Great Game of the nineteenth century as well as the descriptions of servants discussed in Chapter 1.
[50] *Revolt* 2. Fraser endured similar disappointment on entering Teheran previously in 1906: 'I quickly realised that my hopes of the Persian metropolis were already blasted, and that preconceived notions must undergo a painful revolution.' *Marches* 449.

Fraser's wry humour satirizes in turn Britain, Russia, the Persia Committee, the revolutionary Persians, and the Shah. Far from being aligned with political or diplomatic manoeuvres, as Curzon and Sykes were, Fraser's position as a journalist frees him to pass judgment on various hierarchies. On the controversial Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Fraser notes in a typical aside: 'It was indeed a wonder and a happiness to see the Bear and the Lion consort so amicably together.' (10) Contrasting Russia and Britain's approach to the increasing upheaval, Fraser concludes: 'The Russians wanted to take the situation in hand; we, with sublime opportunism, were willing that it should become even more out of hand.' (15) The passivity of Britain's engagement with the unfolding events is reiterated: 'That our people in Teheran foresaw the far-reaching consequences of what was being done, or that our Foreign Office ever realised the full significance of what was happening in Teheran, cannot be supposed.' (27) At moments, Fraser combines a criticism of British perceptions as well as Persian capabilities: 'It is curious that we have shown such a mistaken estimate of the situation in Persia, and supposed that good could have come from the putting of such very new wine into such very old bottles.'[51] This phrase is noteworthy not only for the cutting analysis of Britain's policy in Persia, but also again the flippant tone with regards political reform – new political theories being compared to 'new wine.' Similarly flippant language is used to describe one of the key events of the Revolution, the occupation of the British Legation garden. The number of Teheranis seeking sanctuary escalated from about fifty on 9th July to 14,000 by 2nd September 1906. Fraser writes of the appeal of talking, laughing, smoking and eating all day 'to the pleasure-loving Persian mind' rather than a focused desire for political change. (22) Moreover, the British *chargé d'affaires* is shown negotiating between the *bastis* (those in sanctuary) and the Shah from a desire to get rid of the people 'who had ruined his garden.' (23) Great Britain's sudden rise to prominence over Russia in Persian affairs is thus presented as the accidental result of a political farce.

Similarly, the Persia Committee, which was discussed earlier in this chapter, is excoriated. Fraser condemns politicians in the committee who 'lost no opportunity of

[51] *Revolt* 39. Morgan Philips Price uses similar terminology in his address to The Persian Society on 'A Journey Through Azerbaijan and Persian Khurdistan' in 1913: 'Men do not put new wine into old wine-skins, else the skins burst and the wine is spilled. And the culture of the west, as it filters in, must surely affect the framework of an ancient Oriental state.' p.6.

bullying the Foreign Office on the subject of its omissions and commissions in Persia.' Fraser combines a belittling tone ('the pet aversion of these kind-hearted gentleman') with hyperbolic language, claiming these men saw in Russia's 'actions, motives, and ends… the presence of the cloven hoof.' Thus, for Fraser, the Anglo-Russian Agreement and the contemporary upheavals in Persia are united in these men's eyes: 'it was sometimes a little difficult to know whether the principal object of the Committee was to sympathise with Persia or to discredit the Anglo-Russian Agreement.' (61) Moreover, then men are 'very credulous in the matter of stories from the objects of their sympathy' and 'exaggerated stories from Persia were freely accepted by them.' The Teheran Nationalists therefore ensure 'when absurdities arose in connection with the situation' that such matters were 'at once communicated to the Persia Committee for ventilation in the House of Commons.' (61-2) For all his admiration of Curzon as a traveller, Fraser is implicitly criticising the famously Russophobic Curzon and his ilk.

Christopher Ross notes that Britain, as 'the progenitor of modern constitutionalism' might have been expected by the Constitutionalists 'to extend its support to the new regime.'[52] Fraser's presentation of the constitutionalists, however, suggests they are worthy of neither support nor admiration. Early in the text he seeks to create a mood of tension and suspense, writing: 'It seemed… as if the country was only waiting to burst into a blaze of rebellion and anarchy; as if only a leader was needed to co-ordinate all the elements of unrest into an irresistible wave that should overwhelm the old order of things in Persia.' (4) Later, he creates again this atmosphere of simmering violence, only to puncture the tone with a dismissive summary of Teheranis' virility: 'It was darkly said that ten thousand armed men were ready to spring forth at a given word, but recollecting the peaceful manner in which the Teheranis had accepted the bombardment of their beloved Parliament… it seemed safe to assume that none of the ten thousand would venture out.' (8) This style of writing seems intended to create an amusing narrative for this detailed retelling of political events of four years earlier, and the levity extends to the court and the Shah.

[52] Ross, 'Persia Committee (*act.* 1908–1914)'.

Fraser writes with humour, casual language and an orientalist perspective that: 'An empty treasury in the East is far from being a hopeless handicap to existence… to assume, because the Government was desperately hard up, that the Shah was near the end of his tether, was to overlook the combined optimism and fatalism which constitute the supreme characteristic of the Oriental temperament.' (6) Fraser's narrative emphasises the continuing normalcy of the Shah's court; this was the court of Mohammed Ali Shah, deposed later that year in favour of his young son. Fraser presents the Shah, whom he met with only an interpreter in attendance, 'in excellent spirits and full of humour, despite the reports that he lived in constant fear and trembling.' (51) The improbable scene continues as the Shah announces that 'he was glad to know that "The Times" had sent a representative from England, where many erroneous ideas as to his attitude had been disseminated.' (51-2) Fraser attempts a revisionist portrayal of the Shah, thus colluding with the monarch in a correction of these 'erroneous ideas as to his attitude.' He notes His Majesty's profession of 'great regard for his people' and 'intention of initiating reforms and granting a limited form of Constitution whenever order was restored.' Fraser notes, however, that 'no doubt, his tongue was in his cheek most of the time – what great man's is not, when he opens his heart to the Press?' Nevertheless, Fraser's portrait of Mohammed Ali is broadly sympathetic, believing him to be 'not without reason', and suggesting that given his sheltered upbringing, his lack of education and the 'already rotten' inherited reins of government, 'Mohamed Ali would have been a wonder if he had been able to hold his own.' Fraser goes so far as to hypothesise that if 'well advised' he 'might have pulled through; but the Constitutional movement had attracted all the better and more advanced men in the country, and left at his side only the ignorant and corrupt who feared reform.' (52) There is thus a tension between Fraser's excoriation of the timid fighters in Teheran, and his belief that 'all the better and more advanced men in the country' were on the side of the Constitutionalists. His wide-ranging political commentary finds little to admire whole-heartedly on either side, suggesting less natural affection for Persia and Persians than is evident, for example, in Sykes' work.

In comparison with both Sykes' and Curzon's works, the contemporaneity of Fraser's text and its narrow range of sources is striking. Newspaper articles might unremarkably focus on the present and recent past; but even in Fraser's extended text his frame of reference barely extends to mid-nineteenth century Persian history

showing a quite different focus to Sykes and Curzon's millennia long histories. The following quotation reveals his limited use of sources, and his occasional ability to correct conclusions using his first hand experience:

> …according to the three narratives which I have been following [*The Times*, the blue-books and Browne's work of 1909[53]], [the Constitution] was received with tremendous enthusiasm. It happened, however, that I was travelling in Persia at the time, and was privileged to be present upon this historic occasion, and I must say that I formed the opinion that the acclamations were pitched in a very moderate key.[1]
>
> [1] See 'The Marches of Hindustan,' by the present writer. (29)

That brief journey, however, offered little space for corrective views, and Fraser's opening weeks in Teheran have missed much of the upheaval of the beginning of 1909; a challenge for travel-writing during political upheaval relates to the journalist's or writer's need to be at the right place at the right time.[54] Indeed when Fraser finally encounters fighting outside of Teheran, he emphatically writes: 'We had found the right place at the right moment.' (109) As Fraser's pacific entry to Teheran demonstrates, the right time – that is, the moment of upheaval that will generate copy for the London presses – is a fleeting entity.

Having acknowledged the 'disadvantage of discussing matters of which I have small personal knowledge, except as relates to a short period in the winter of 1906-7,' Fraser writes from Chapter IV onwards 'with such degree of authority as may be allowed to an eye-witness whose business it was closely to follow developments.' (48) Within just that chapter, however, one sees Fraser continue to write on events in numerous cities throughout Persia, for example on events on the southern port of Bunder Abbas, while Fraser remained in Teheran: 'The prompt arrival of a British man-o'-war detracted somewhat from the picturesqueness of the proceedings, and nothing particular happened.' (53) The claims Fraser makes to first-hand knowledge

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[53] *Revolt*, 20. Blue-Book refers to '*spec.* one of the official reports of Parliament and the Privy Council, which are issued in a dark blue paper cover,' OED, Second edition, 1989; online version March 2012. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/20587>; accessed 9 May 2012. Earlier version first published in *New English Dictionary*, 1887. E. G. Browne, *A Brief Narrative of Recent Events in Persia, followed by a translation of "The Four Pillars of the Persian Constitution" 2 vol*., (London: Luzac & Co., 1909).

[54] Churchill ten years earlier on his way to South Africa wrote of the frustration of the slow voyage: 'A fortnight is a long time in modern life. It is also a long time in modern war – especially at the beginning. To be without news for a fortnight at any time is annoying. To be without news for a fortnight now is torture.' *London to Ladysmith*, p.1.

are overstretched as the work follows neither solely his travel narrative, nor political developments separated from his first person narrative. Similarly, the siege of Tabriz is the subject of a whole chapter, but this, it becomes clear, is based on the writings of another Special Correspondent from *The Times*, whose 'graphic letters' painted the situation 'in colours ludicrous and pathetic, heroic and pusillanimous as its varying aspects suggested.' (67) When this reporter leaves, Fraser says 'a detailed narrative of events at Tabriz cease[s] to be available, and the progress of the siege remains somewhat obscure for the next few months.' (68) Fraser's selection of accounts on which to base his work elevates the British first-hand point of view above all others, paradoxically despite his own work's shortcomings in that regard. Indeed, at the end of Chapter VI, Fraser repeats himself, saying: 'With the belligerents now located within reach of Teheran I was able to take a more active share in the proceedings, and henceforward propose to deal with events in the form of a personal narrative.' (99) Fraser's text expresses through its use of sources a desire for a British-centric interpretation of events, preferably in the form of a first-person narrative. By expressing this aim so insistently, however, Fraser draws attention to the shortcomings of his work in those regards, and more generally to the difficulty of combining travel-writing with contemporary history, particularly during a period of war.

It is Fraser's presentation of military conflict which marks the most substantial shift in tone in writing on Persia, and this depiction of the country as site of battles and skirmishes continues in publications until the mid-1920s. Fraser's focus on the contemporary political situation is unsurprising given his profession and purpose in heading to Teheran; his active embracing of these scenes is, however, striking. Philip Knightley comments on war correspondents between 1865 and 1914: 'With one or two exceptions, they pandered to the bloodthirsty tastes of the age, chronicling the deaths of thousands of men with little concern beyond whether the event they were witnessing would make a good report.'[55] Fraser relishes finding 'the right place at the right moment' (109) – the Imperial Bank of Persia in the centre of Teheran, between Royalist and Nationalist forces. The employees of the bank dare not leave the money and their responsibilities. Fraser braves the site as his place was 'of course… where I

[55] Knightley 46.

could see the most killing and wounding.' (117) Those passing through the bank, scene of some negotiations as well as an easy route to the telegraph office, tell their stories, which Fraser compares to 'pages from a penny dreadful.' (118) This description of war histories as sensationalist fiction distorts the veracity and impact of these accounts. Fraser comes close presenting his own experiences in similarly startling tones, living in a manner which seems calculated to give the best copy, oblivious to the brutal core of his endeavours. Again, Knightley's commentary on war correspondents creating 'a thrilling adventure story' applies in Fraser's case.[56] He affirms that being under fire for a 'few days… did us all good.' Physically, they are startled into new vitality, and 'from being comfortable middle-aged gentlemen, we became perky young fellows… Rejuvenation is the only word to describe the effect upon us of the bombardment outside; and that happy state once attained we were able to take interest and pleasure in all that happened.' (118) 'Rejuvenation' through novel experiences whilst travelling is an oft-mentioned concept; even in his Preface Fraser notes the appeal of being on the move. However this rejuvenation does not usually occur under fire, and witnessing death as something interesting and pleasant is disturbing. A certain wry humour is introduced as the men become so 'accustomed… to the streams of lead passing overhead, and to the incessant noise' that they attempt a game of tennis. Fraser concedes: 'I think possibly the play was not up to Wimbledon form, but we managed to get some exercise before Wood ducked his head to avoid a projectile that came whirling through the air with a hum like an aeroplane.' (119) Aside from the possibly true behaviour of the Europeans, who perhaps had a psychological need to break the tension and ennui of their incarceration with a performance of normality, the performativity of Fraser's work is evident in its depiction of British bravery, incongruous joviality, bravura stoicism and even 'indifference'. (120) The casual reader might be amused by this self-presentation, but the text contains a shocking and disturbing image of a man buried in sand up to his neck as punishment (facing page 198), and the veneer of levity does not fully conceal the brutal environment. For all his endurance and efforts, Fraser deprecates his work, considering his telegraphs of news 'that were hardly glanced at the following morning by several hundred thousand readers.' (122-3) Fraser seems uncertain of the value of

[56] Knightley 66.

his own writings, and this anxiety about the achievement of the work is accentuated by its almost immediately anachronistic discourse.

Upon his departure from Teheran after the accession to the throne of the twelve-year-old Ahmad Shah, as head of a constitutional monarchy, Fraser writes: 'I handed the Nationalists over to the tender mercies of a young colleague, in the hope that his less sophisticated eyes might perceive in their doings more promise for the future.' (183) Fraser presents himself as too old to sympathise with the activities of the new Parliament, which sits at odds with his 'rejuvenation' under fire. He is sceptical about the new Mejlis, perhaps siding with the *ancien régime*. Following an unremarkable journey south through Persia, Fraser concludes his work with a synopsis of recent political events, entitled 'England and Russia in Persia,' echoing Curzon's 'British and Russian Policy in Persia.' In this chapter Fraser seeks to bring the work up-to-date in its filling of 'a slight hiatus' between Fraser's departure from Persia in January, and the 'six months of the doings of the new Government.' (270) This focus on immediate history is typical of Fraser, but draws attention to the almost immediate redundancy of his political analysis, which is overwhelmingly pessimistic: 'On all hands the situation is regarded as almost hopeless. Nothing whatever has been accomplished.' (274) As Fraser outlines suggestions for an amelioration of the conditions in Persia, the chapter is interrupted by 'fresh news from Teheran.' (275) The chapter, and the half of the book dedicated to Persia, concludes with a Note: 'At the moment of going to press, it is announced that a plan for the restoration of order in southern Persia, similar to the one outlined in this chapter, has been adopted by the British Government.' (293)

Thus Fraser's work is thwarted by its very contemporaneity. Having recognised that the political aspects of Curzon's work have the least longevity,[57] Fraser must realise the intense temporality of his work might doom it to a fleeting existence in the public eye. Not only in terms of the political events witnessed, but also in references to contemporary explorers, the text proclaims its currency.[58] In his Preface, as discussed

[57] *Marches* 432.
[58] Fraser writes of the mosque at Qom being 'without its Cook or its Peary.' *Revolt* 190. The American explorer Frederick Cook claimed to have reached the North Pole in 1908, Robert Peary in 1909; both these former colleagues' claims are now widely discredited, but were the subject of immense attention

below, Moore is aware that his newspaper articles are 'soon forgot' whereas a travel book might hope for a greater life-span, but might pass equally quickly.[59] Moore's work questions more explicitly than Fraser's questions of temporality, memory and the legacy of a travelogue, and suggests that in the central decade of this thesis, the field of travel-writing on Persia was becoming so substantial that writers had to increasingly engage with questions about the worth of their individual work.

Like Fraser, Moore witnessed the Constitutional Revolution at first hand, and like Fraser's bipartite text, Moore also describes upheavals in Turkey, and, furthermore, Macedonia, Albania and Greece. Moore's work also acts as a foil to Fraser's, not least in the maturation of the experiences into a text more fascinated with memory and the imagination than political events, which were by the time of publication some five years old. The Persia Committee, so mocked by Fraser, sent Moore to Persia 'in the capacity of a special correspondent.'[60] Moore is evident within Fraser's text, highlighting the unceasing connections between the still quite small number of Britons in Persia. As 'affairs… reached a critical stage' in Tabriz, Fraser writes of 'two Europeans' joining the Nationalist forces there and drilling volunteers: the American Mr Baskerville, formerly employed in the American Mission school; and 'Mr W. A. Moore, sometime Secretary to the Balkan Committee, who was representing a syndicate of Liberal papers in Persia.'[61] Fraser notes 'as one would expect from his antecedents' Moore 'went to Tabriz as an ardent supporter of the Nationalist cause; but, judging from what he subsequently wrote, he must have been grievously disappointed in the people behind it.' Fraser notes an article in *The Times* on 3rd July 1909 'from the pen of an Occasional Correspondent, which thinly veiled the identity of the writer, whose Liberal employers had dispensed with his services when he associated himself with the Nationalists [i.e. Moore].' The article combines, to Fraser's mind, 'the extremely ludicrous with the supremely pathetic' and Fraser quotes Moore's words that: "It was essentially a contest between two sets of

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in 1909. Bruce Henderson, *True North: Peary, Cook, and the race to the Pole* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2005).

[59] *Orient Express*, 'Preface,' viii.

[60] Mansour Bonakdarian, 'The Persia Committee and the Constitutional Revolution in Iran,' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1991), 186-207, p.192.

[61] By European, which includes an American, Fraser apparently means Western, Caucasian, or just not Persian. Moore's Irish nationality stretches the term 'British' in the title of this thesis, but his work is included nevertheless for the contribution to the genre which this discussion makes clear.

inefficients and incapables, each of which the feared the other." (72-3) Raging at their supposedly misdirected loyalties, Fraser rues the battle in which Baskerville died, saying it 'makes one indignant to think that two Europeans should have given themselves so generously, but so uselessly, for a people and a cause so undeserving.' (73) Fraser sarcastically emphasises the cowardice of the Constitutionalists (74) and points to the 'irreproachable' behaviour of the Russians who broke the siege. (80) Browne's pamphlet, *The Reign of Terror at Tabriz: England's Responsibility*, mentioned earlier, reaches a different conclusion in 1912. Fraser thus uses Moore's work to strengthen his own anti-Constitutionalist sentiments. As Fraser notes, Moore's 'Liberal employers' distanced themselves from him when he joined in the fighting. Bonakdarian notes Moore's military engagement caused 'great embarrassment'; 'G.P. Gooch (Radical M.P. and a member of the Persia Committee) wrote to Browne to express his dismay at the news and to inform him that 'Gardiner (editor of the Daily News and a future member of the Committee) felt Moore could not be allowed to play both parts at the same time'. Browne himself, however, made good use of Moore's information to maintain his campaign against British government policy in Persia, to the extent that Moore was concerned that Browne revealed his source too clearly.[62] Therefore while his actions might have been embarrassing, Moore's information was essential for the Committee. One might therefore revise David McLean's dismissal of Moore as an 'eccentric journalist.'[63] This revision of primary material – Moore's investigatory and subversive writing – into a travelogue is a recurring characteristic of British travel-writing on Persia.

Moore's work introduces whimsy for the first time to travel-writing on Persia, and its reflective six-page Preface offers an explicit negotiation of what the travel-writer holds back for himself, whilst making no mention of the political and military battles waged in Persia six years earlier. The work opens with an unflattering portrait of a Budapest music-hall entertainer, whose steam-train imitation concludes with the words 'Orient Express' directed at Moore. Moore allows himself to come across as the typical Orient Express traveller, easily recognisable in the crowd. The Preface then takes off on a discussion of the appeal of travel-writing, using the departure of a train as a unifying motif; the hardcover carries a gilt embossed image of a steam train.

[62] McLean, 'A Professor Extraordinary,' 405-406.
[63] Ibid, 404.

Noting the power of memory, he writes of the music-hall entertainer, now cherished for his unexpected reappearance in Moore's mind, functioning like Proust's madeleine:

> With the help of my friend in the frock-coat, I can at least in sundry intervals catch the train of memory and, if I have the mind to do so, transport myself without expense to such scenes as are unforgotten. But that is no excuse for asking you to get aboard the car with me and share in my reflections. It is open to you, in a world overcrowded with interesting things to read, to go a thousand journeys of the imagination in more fascinating company. If the East is your fancy, you may board the Orient Express with scores of better guides than I am, and with these in any case I would have you not omit to travel. So, when I reflect on the fact that whereas I and my fancy go free, my publisher will insist on your paying a small sum for your ticket, I am bound to confess that I can feel no surprise if you refuse to journey with me. (vi)

Moore here acknowledges the breadth of the field of travel-writing on 'the East' in a playful interaction with the implied reader. Moore also hints there is more to tell, that in his newspaper articles he has kept something back, or at least the public has soon forgotten it. (vii-viii) Moreover, there are many things 'that in any case I have no art to write so as to make them to you what they have become to me.' These include 'the story of the siege of Tabriz, the death of Arshad-ed-Dowleh, the memories of Kashan and Kumisha and of a ride of a thousand miles from Tehran to the Persian Gulf.' (ix) Moore's writing here steps radically away from the established form, such as Curzon's impersonal, purpose-driven travel and text, which acknowledges no gaps in its discourse, to an intimate, personal recollection, which acknowledges the fallibility of memory and hence implicitly, the incompleteness of the text. Whilst the ellipses in travel-writing are evident – no Victorian discusses, for example, the minutiae of hygiene on the road – Moore is unusual in addressing lacunae. With these caveats, Moore returns to the train *leitmotif*, concluding his Preface: 'The Orient Express is about to start. But the door is still open, and there is time for you to jump out. There will be no bones broken on the platform, and, though sincerely sorry to lose you, I shall have the carriage to myself.' (x) Moore uses the metaphor of the train to discuss the compact between travel-writer and reader, elisions in travelogues, the personal nature of memory, and the imaginative transportation travelogues can provide. Twelve years before her famous opening lines to *Passenger to Teheran*, Moore opens

the door to acknowledgements of Vita Sackville-West's concerns: 'Travel is the most private of pleasures.'[64]

Moore's epigraph to Chapter 1 is a not unusual quotation from Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam, and the breezy opening paragraph continues the direct address to the reader: 'Let us go first to the Middle East. The Near East was a first love, so let us keep it in its proper place – as something to which to return.' (1) With this opening, combined with Moore's *tour de force* of a playful Preface, the work might be expected to unfold in a light series of 'loose sallies' as Moore terms it. (x) The chapter, entitled 'The Siege of Tabriz,' however, descends into hellish descriptions of Moore's experiences during the revolution. Moore arrived at the Constitutionalist stronghold of Tabriz in January 1909, and offers details on the strength of the town's force as well as the besiegers in considerable detail. Moore is at times dismissive of both sides, repeating a line from his 1909 publications which Fraser cites: 'it was essentially a contest between two sets of inefficient and incapables, each of which feared the other.' (5) At the end of March Moore joined the fighting forces, and the first chapter ends with a powerful paragraph describing the desperate fighting. The main body of revolutionary forces remain in the trenches, thus making victory and the raising of the siege impossible. A Georgian fighter 'blew his own head to pieces with a hand-grenade as he was about to throw it' and Moore 'narrowly escaped a drenching as all the blood gushed out from his body toppling backwards.' Moore stresses 'these were brave men,' but finds their attitude towards death 'odd' as 'even the most cowardly took death and wounds with stoic indifference at the last.' Struggling to admire his fellow-fighters, Moore describes 'neither the victim nor those around him' bemoaning deaths as 'a kind of degenerate fatalism.' (13) This interpretation, ranging from 'stoic indifference' to 'degenerate fatalism,' perhaps conveys the depth of Moore's disillusionment; that very night the constitutionalists fail to guard 'the hard-won hill' and the next day 'this strong point of vital importance was quietly reoccupied by the Royalists and doubly fortified.' (13) The contrast with the Preface is remarkable, transforming the work from travel-literature to war memoir; yet this second tone is not maintained throughout the work either. The second chapter continues to describe the siege of Tabriz, the near famine in the town,

[64] *Passenger to Teheran* 1.

and the death of the American Baskerville, whose death was greatly mourned by the town and whose photograph was still sold on the streets of Tehran in 1914. In Chapter three, Moore witnesses the interrogation and execution of the revolutionary leader Arshad-ed-Dowleh in 1911. From the beginning of Chapter four, set in Teheran in 1912, however, the book adopts a quite different tone.

As Teheran is said to return 'to the philosophical contemplation of existence' after 'an intermission of its modern fitful fever of politics,' so Moore's text returns to more relaxed travel-writing style and tone. (37) A poet, Sohrab, pontificates with Moore about Iran's future in a whimsical tone, turning to questions of happiness and dignity in the chapters 'Philosophy in Adversity' and 'On Genius'. From Chapter seven Moore undertakes a journey from Tehran to the Gulf, an unremarkable and well traversed route. The most remarkable diversions of the text appear in Chapters eleven and twelve, 'At the Tomb of Cyrus' and 'A Talk with Alexander the Great' respectively. At Cyrus' tomb at Pasargardæ and at Persepolis, about forty kilometres apart, Moore indulges in fanciful conversations with the two leaders. Through the medium of the imagined conversations, facts are conveyed in an unexpected and imaginative way, but the product is disappointing. Cyrus' conversation is particularly stilted: 'To me, as to you, the empire that I founded is but dust and vanity; but so that I might hold Nitetis [his wife] in my arms I would live in the body again. Of all the gods and goddesses whom we ignorantly worshipped there was none like Anahita, whom the Greeks called golden Aphrodite.' (105) Moore has his epicurean and regret-free Alexander dismiss the destruction of Persepolis as an act of drunken frivolity, saying 'I was gay when I burnt the palace, and that was good. I was sad when I had the headache [the following morning], and that was bad.' (112) These fictionalised conversations have various literary antecedents, including the *Imaginary Conversations* series by Walter Savage Landor, grandfather of Henry Savage Landor, whom Hume-Griffith hosted for dinner as mentioned in Chapter 2. Landor imagines the conversations of 'literary men and statesmen' as varied as Queen Elizabeth and Cecil, Leofric and Godiva, and Dante and Beatrice. Landor was also a translator of Persian poems.[65] Other possible models for Moore include Maurice Baring's *Lost*

[65] Walter Savage Landor, *Imaginary Conversations of literary men and statesmen, 2 vols.* (London: Taylor & Hessey, 1824). Later volumes appeared until 1829. *Poems from the Arabic and Persian; with notes by the author of Gebir* [i.e. Walter Savage Landor] (London: Messrs. Rivingtons, 1800).

Diaries of 1913, which contain imagined extracts from the diaries of figures as diverse as George Washington, Marcus Aurelius, Oedipus Rex and Hamlet.[66] Moore's travelogue thus demonstrates a movement away from factual descriptions of the ancient sites towards a creative imagining of ancient figures.

Given the paucity of contemporary reviews on *The Orient Express* one can assume that its impact was minimal. For all the uneven quality of the writing, however, the text is significant for its engagement with questions of the public and private in travel-writing on Persia, as well as the introduction of play and whimsy, paradoxically alongside brutal descriptions of the very modern and violent aspects of Persia. As this analysis has shown, even a forgotten text may shed light on the development of the genre of travel-writing on Persia, and must be considered to set the supposed innovation of writers such as Sackville-West in context.

3.4 Trenchard Fowle: An 'Impressionist' Travelogue

Be it acknowledged with gratitude, [Fowle] has produced an eminently readable book and given us some clear impressions of the peoples and lands he traversed. Impressionist word-pictures interspersed throughout the volume reproduce most vividly a number of characteristic scenes… as set pictures in the panoramic film.[67]

In many ways, the background of Trenchard Craven Fowle's text, *Travels in the Middle East*, is unremarkable in this survey of British travel-writing on Persia.[68] Like Percy Sykes, Fowle worked with the British Army in India before travelling in the Middle East, in Fowle's case with a view to picking up a working knowledge of local languages. Fowle was a member of the 40th Pathans, an infantry regiment in the British Indian Army, humorously referred to as 'the forty thieves,' with the commanding officer being 'Ali Baba.'[69] Like the works of Hume-Griffith, Fraser and Moore, half of Fowle's text considers Persia, visited in late 1912 and early 1913,

[66] Maurice Baring, *Lost Diaries* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1913). See Max Saunders, *Self Impression: Life-writing, autobiografiction, and the forms of modern literature* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), p.39.
[67] Anon. review, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, Volume 32, Issue 9 (September 1916), 447-8.
[68] T. C. Fowle, *Travels in the Middle East: being impressions by the way in Turkish Arabia and Persia* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1916).
[69] R. S. Waters, *History of the 5th Battalion (Pathans) 14th Punjab Regiment, formerly 40th Pathans ("The Forty Thieves")* (London: James Bain Limited, 1936).

another half 'Turkish Arabia' seen in 1910-11,[70] thus demonstrating travel-writing on Persia's increasing pairing with travel-writing on modern-day Iraq. Like Curzon, Fraser and Moore, Fowle's travel experiences had been published previously: 'I am indebted to the Editors of *The Academy*, *The Cornhill*, *The Pioneer*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Times of India*, and *The World's Work*, for their permission to have re-published in this book matter which originally appeared under their auspices.'[71] Despite these commonplace antecedents, Fowle's work offers another substantial variation in the genre, on account of his focus on travel for travel's sake rather than career progression. This is emphasised through his literary influences, his descriptions of his own behaviour on the road, and the prioritising of the travel-writer's self above factual assimilation or cartographic work. The elisions of Fowle's work are more extensive than the silences of Moore's text, and demonstrate an increasing interest in the enjoyment of the implicitly apolitical reader.

Despite his position as a soldier on language-leave, Fowle's text makes almost no mention of his professional position. Indeed, his foci are not the conventional masculine spheres of cartography, economics or politics, but parallel Ella Sykes' work. As discussed in Chapter 1, Ella's reference to Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* suggests that she follows its insistence, as Parnell terms it, 'that travel narrative should be about contact with people rather than the arid documentation of sights seen.'[72] Fowle's work follows in its focus Ella's and Sterne's approach to travel-writing, suggesting a movement away from the rigidly demarcated gendered forms of some late-Victorian travel-writing. Fowle's main literary influence is Robert Louis Stevenson, whose *Travels with a Donkey* was regularly reprinted in the 1900s and 1910s.[73] Fowle quotes Stevenson in the first half of his book, which describes his time in Turkish Arabia:

> …a circular trail, leading nowhere, but traversing in its compass caravan tracks both great and small, so that on returning bearing one's sheaves with one – to the extent

[70] Ibid 99, 103, 109, 112.
[71] *Travels* vii. Fowle also wrote anonymously (as "Subaltern") on his participation in a campaign on the Afghan frontier for *Cornhill Magazine* in May 1909. Waters 88. The Subaltern, 'Ten Days of a 'Frontier Show,' *The Cornhill*, Vol. XXVI., No. 155 (May 1909), 630-648.
[72] Parnell xxi.
[73] Initially published in 1879, *Travels with a Donkey* reached its third edition by 1881; later reprints appeared in 1907, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1914 and 1916; it was also republished repeatedly in the 1920s, either singly or with selections of Stevenson's other travelogues.

> of some four hundred and fifty miles – one would have a shrewd idea of what travel was like in Turkey in Asia. And in any event-
>
> There's nothing under heaven so blue
> That's fairly worth the travelling to.
>
> It is the road that one travels for, not its end – the pilgrimages one remembers when the shrines have been forgotten. (38)

The couplet comes from Stevenson's *The Silverado Squatters*, originally published in 1883.[74] Within the broader context of the work, the couplet refers to Stevenson's trip to a petrified forest in California, on which he concludes: 'Doubtless, the heart of the geologist beats quicker at the sight; but, for my part, I was mightily unmoved. Sight-seeing is the art of disappointment.'[75] Stevenson's stance offers Fowle a model for his prioritising of the means rather than the end, and in his example provides a licence for Fowle to shun expectations.

Fowle also refers to Mark Twain upon his departure for Persia from Quetta, as he feels that perhaps his adventure is worth 'a more imposing "send-off," that, like Tom Sawyer in the more important moments of his life, a brass band would not have been inappropriate.' (133) While it is not clear that Fowle was familiar with Twain's travel-writing as he was with *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, it is worth noting that Twain's travel-writing style similarly prefigures Fowle's work. In his Preface to *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain writes his 'book is the record of a pleasure trip,' and refutes the inclusion of 'that gravity, profundity, and that impressive incomprehensibility' which is 'proper' to 'a record of a solemn scientific expedition.' Twain offers 'no apologies for any departures from the usual style of travel-writing that may be charged against me – for I think I have seen with impartial eyes, and I am sure I have written at least honestly, whether wisely or not.'[76] In both Stevenson's trip through California (1880), and Twain's route through Europe, the Holy Land and Egypt (1867), the free style of the works is in part enabled by the familiarity of the routes undertaken to the assumed reader at home. Through the work of the Persia Committee and the Persia Society, as well as newspaper reports on tumultuous Persian politics, the British army's cartographic work on Persia, and the plethora of

[74] Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Silverado Squatters* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883, 1895, 1906, and 1910).
[75] Robert Louis Stevenson, *Travels with a Donkey, An Inland Voyage, The Silverado Squatters* (London: Everyman, 1996), p.231.
[76] Mark Twain, 'Preface,' *The Innocents Abroad, Roughing It* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1984), p.3.

British travelogues on the country, Persia was becoming increasingly familiar to British readers. Twain travelled with an organised tour; Persia was still less familiar than his destinations, but in 1912 Thomas Cook published their first stand-alone advisory notes for travel in Persia.[77] As Persia becomes increasingly known to British authorities and British readers, so travel is increasingly possibly without official responsibilities, and so travelogues could increasingly relate personal matters rather than facts; hence the more intimate style of Fowle's 1916 work.

Stevenson wrote in *Travels with a Donkey*: 'For my part, I travel not to go anywhere, but to go. I travel for travel's sake. The great affair is to move; to feel the needs and hitches of our life more nearly; to come down off this feather-bed of civilisation, and find the globe granite underfoot and strewn with cutting flints.'[78] Fowle expresses this philosophy in his own work, writing the following on the occasion of his departure for Persia:

> I was back on the Road again – back on the Road.[79]
>
> Love and war, the lure of ambition, the lust for gold, these have their enduring places amid the lodestars which move the children of men. Yet not so far behind – at least for some – comes the Road. And why? There is no complete answer. For like every other pursuit in the world it has its moments of surfeit, of distaste, of boredom – only the untravelled imagine that the traveller is for ever singing a pæan of joy – and like everything else worth having in the world it demands its price: not all our modern space-decreasing inventions, for instance, have solved the problem of how to be in two places at once. But with all it grips, and though it lets you escape for a time back to cities and civilisation, it is but to draw you out once again, and again, and again.
>
> Thus I sat for a while, engaged in much the same thoughts which every traveller has the night of his first march out. Then I knocked my pipe against a stone, rose, and went in to bed.
>
> The next fortnight or so after that first stage was filled with steady marching day after day, and so, that neither reader nor writer may weary, let a typical day be taken as a sample. (137)

One sees here the fusion of Fowle's philosophy of travel and his philosophy of travel-writing: that travel has an appeal of its own independent of professional concerns; and that travel should not be tediously transcribed. In both his writing and his actions

[77] *Information for Travellers in Persia* issued by Thos. Cook & Son, 1912, viewed at Thomas Cook Archive, Peterborough, 12 August 2010.
[78] Stevenson, *Travels with a Donkey* (1996), 145.
[79] This fascination with the road appears of course in much twentieth-century writing: 'Our battered suitcases were piled on the sidewalk again; we had longer ways to go. But no matter, the road is life.' Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (New York: The Viking Press, 1957), p.211.

Fowle eschews the path taken by earlier British officers travelling in Persia: indeed his servant Mohammed is 'scandalised' by Fowle's habit 'of attending the public coffee-houses', holding Fowle's behaviour to be 'unconventional on the part of a sahib.' Fowle, however, relishes being away from 'the Indian station' and 'thanks be to the god of liberty' enjoys holding no formal position in Turkish Arabia: 'So I bound myself by no shackles of respectability and foregathered with whom I pleased.' (37) Fowle goes even further in recommending this course of action to other travellers: 'There is of course a commonsense limit to this matter of foregathering with all and sundry, since familiarity breeds contempt, East as well as West. Still, it should be the traveller's aim to approach as near as may be to this limit, and with the exercise of some tact and a little knowledge of the local manners and customs the golden mean can usually be struck.' (37) Fowle's work offers very little by way of constructive advice for getting around Persia in terms of stopping posts and tracks, but offers a template and guidelines for becoming a certain type of traveller. Travel-writing on Persia has extended from the factual to philosophically advisory.

With the expression of personal interpretations of the purpose of travel comes a greater presentation of the self of the travel-writer. In his Preface Fowle makes clear that the centrality of the travel-writer is acceptable alongside representations of a country. Fowle suggests that the 'question… most frequently put to the returned traveller by his kindly, curious friends… may be summed up in the query, "What is it like?"' While 'politics or economics… sociology or anthropology, or any of the other more abstruse features of foreign lands' might interest some, 'we are all interested in the "What is it like?"' Fowle proposes that this can only be expressed through the traveller's experiences of the landscape, the food, the accommodation, and the people encountered. The traveller should not, therefore, 'display any undue false modesty in thrusting himself into the background. Not that we necessarily feel a special interest in the personality of the traveller himself, but it is through him that we vicariously enjoy his travels, and if he interests us the many capital 'I's' may be forgiven him.'[80] As the medium through which a country is presented, a writer is given space by Fowle to acknowledge, emphasise or enjoy his or her centrality to the narrative. Again, one sees in Fowle's centralising of the self a greater parallel with Ella Sykes'

[80] *Travels* ix-x.

work than Curzon's: in her Preface Ella writes her work has no 'pretensions to be either historical, scientific, or political, being merely the record of a very happy period of my existence, which I have, in a way, re-lived by writing about it.'[81] Her work thus reincarnates a period of her selfhood during which she was exceptionally happy; arguably Fowle does the same.

With this increasing focus on the self, questions of personal recollection are brought to the fore, as in Moore's work. Fowle's work is characterized by elisions and, in contrast, moments of sharp focus of recollection. Of his journey from Teheran to Ispahan, Fowle writes: 'Travel memories are curious things, and while other – and much more important – incidents are blurred to me, this little midnight charade is still clear. Why, I do not know.' (233-4) In his elision of politics and 'blurred' scenes, Fowle moves away from Curzon's example, which arguably presents 'an excess of specification, almost to the point of informational "prattle" – to use Barthes's term – suggesting its fear of incompleteness, or perhaps of failure to communicate.'[82] In contrast, Fowle's moves towards the style of modernist travel-writers like Vita Sackville-West in the elasticity of the memory he presents. Comparing the vividity of various days of travel, he notes: 'So elastic is Time, such queer tricks does memory play us, so great is the egoism of the wayfarer wrapped up in his trivial comings and goings!' (132-3) He also refers the necessity of relying on his diary for the composition of his travelogue, an unusual nod to necessary *aide-mémoires*. Furthermore, Fowle references his experience of writer's block whilst on the road, another remarkably personal intervention in the field of British travel-writing on Persia.

Fowle does not feign to disguise writer's block, a desire to avoid dry topics, or occasionally his sheer lack of interest. Meshed, despite its 'close proximity to Russian Central Asia and Northern Afghanistan' and its 'many points of interest' is skipped with only a note that Fowle 'passed a very pleasant three weeks' there, because 'this book is not a political treatise.' (187) Likewise, Fowle writes that 'since politics are outside the scope of this book, we can 'skip' Teheran – doubtless to the relief of the

[81] *Through Persia*, Preface, v.
[82] Ali Behdad, *Belated Travellers: Orientalism in the age of colonial dissolution* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994), p.45; Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (Paris, Points-Editions du Seuil, 1970), p.85.

reader – as we did with Meshed, and make for the road without more delay.' (225) The contrast with Curzon's depictions of these cities is immense. Fowle here synthesises his own preferred foci and the interests of the reader, demonstrating an increasing awareness of what characterises a popular and well-received travelogue. There is a sense of a radically different audience from that toward which Curzon or Percy Sykes directed their works. Fowle's implied reader is happy to avoid the political minutiae of Teheran and Meshed, but nonetheless still expects evocations of Shah Abbas' glorious square. Upon Fowle's arrival in Ispahan, a sense of what is expected, his free elisions of whatever he desires, and an acknowledgment of the *aide-mémoires* necessary to travel-writing, come together in the following passage:

> I had passed through two notable Persian cities… before reaching Ispahan, and in each had found my pen tongue-tied. Do what I would not a word would come; as far as a record in my diary was concerned, these two great cities had remained a blank.
>
> But I had not given in thus without an effort, you may be sure. I knew what was popularly due from the traveller: that at places of interest and note, he should also be correspondingly interested – at any rate on paper.
>
> 'Come,' I had said stoutly to myself, 'this will never do. Other travellers have found nice things to say about these two "historic spots," why can't you? Sit down, light your pipe, and start away. Put "Meshed" at the head of one sheet of paper and "Teheran" at the head of another; or put them both in one sheet, "Meshed and Teheran," and call it a comparison, or call it anything you like. But for heaven's sake do something!'
>
> But it was of no avail! Even with the burning of much tobacco I invoked the Muse in vain, and I had verily begun to fear that I would leave Persia a discredited scribbler, one who in 'historic' spots failed to be properly interested – even on paper.
>
> However, Ispahan saved my reputation in that direction. For at this 'historic spot,' contrarily enough, I *did* find myself interested, both off and on paper, and – happy state for the recorder, and reader, of impressions of travel – found my difficulties not in what to write, but in what to forbear…. [ellipsis original] (242-3)

Fowle's commentary here exposes the arduous composition of his text, and an awareness of which locales are demanded of a travelogue on Persia. His discussion of what ought to be included acts as a meta-commentary on the field of British travel-writing on Persia. Furthermore, the address to the Muse implies a desire for literary quality within his text: while Fowle does not use these terms, one can see his intention for his travelogue to become travel literature.

In contrast with the 'skipped' cities of Teheran and Meshed, Fowle's depiction of the Persian Passion Play at Gunabad contains immense detail. 'The Tragedy of Karbala,'

is dislocated from the chronological sequence of his journey as Fowle believes it 'merits a chapter to itself.' (162) The chapter is almost identical to his article in the September 1913 *Cornhill Magazine*, emphasising again travel-writing's links with other publication forms such as journals.[83] A singular distinction is that the article includes a specific date – 19th December 1912 when he reached Gunabad – while in the travelogue Fowle expunges all temporal specificity in keeping with his depiction of and interest in the fluidity of his memory.[84] British travellers had witnessed the mourning of the death of Hussain, grandson of Mohammed, through a dramatic re-enactment of his death at the hands of Yazid for many years, and it was known by the popular term Hobson-Jobson.[85] Fowle's four-page exposition of the roots of the story suggests, however, that its background might be unfamiliar to his readers, and yet he feels it is essential to an understanding of the contemporary Middle East: 'unless one has some such knowledge, not only the Passion Play but the whole of the Mohammedan East of the present day, its schisms, its cross-currents, and its motives must remain a closed book.' (172) Fowle's representation of the experience is significant in his presentation of fellow-feeling with the Persian Shia audience. Not only his conversations with his servant Khuda-Dad and related warm characterisation of the Persian temperament, (160-1) but also his reaction to the play, demonstrate Fowle overcoming a supposed intellectual and emotional distance between this Western traveller and the Persians he encounters. This is not to argue that the text is wholly free from Orientalism, but to highlight the shift in relations between Persians and Britons described in travelogues from the stance taken by, for example, Curzon some twenty-four years earlier.

There is a wry tone to Fowle's acceptance that he was overwhelmed by the sound of the cries, and others too had shown how they succumbed to the play: 'the extraordinary effect it has on people – an effect testified to by almost every traveller in Iran – …due to the three great feelings which it touches and harps upon, namely,

[83] T. C. Fowle, 'The Tragedy of Karbala,' *The Cornhill Magazine*, September 1913, Vol. XXXV, No. 207, N. S., 399-411.
[84] Ibid, 399.
[85] Hobson-Jobson, 'Anglicized form of the repeated wailings and cries of Muslims as they beat their breasts in the *Muharram* procession; hence this festal ceremony,' OED, Second edition, 1989; online version March 2012. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/87481>; accessed 9 May 2012.

religion, national pride, and a very human feeling for a tragic event.'[86] (175) It is through the universality of the themes that Fowle becomes most overwhelmed, as he forgets:

> …that Hussain died many centuries since… that religiously and racially the play, the players, and the spectators are alien to him, so alien that he has thought it necessary to have a pistol in his pocket… He only knows that he is watching a drama, a tragedy, in its own peculiar way as real, as true, as artistic, as any placed on a Western stage, and, in its effect upon its audience and upon its actors, far more true and real – a tragedy calling to feelings deeper than religion, deeper even than race, deep down to those of human nature itself. (183-4)

The movement from the first-person narrative to the more universal third-person emphasises the universality of experience of this traveller. With this depth of affiliation comes a realisation that it 'is indeed no play to them, but a religious ceremony of the most solemn import.' (180) With this understanding, Fowle comes to interpret and present the play as something with extraordinary longevity in the face of change. While uncertain of the 'fate of Persia as a nation – whether she remain independent, or pass eventually under foreign dominion,' Fowle expresses confidence that 'the spirit of the people, which can produce such a universal expression of its as its Passion Play, will remain.' (186) The single most outstanding event in Fowle's work – outstanding in topic, tone, and in its slight detachment from the rest of the narrative – is of a primarily subjective experience rather than objective account. Fowle goes into such detail about this event not only on account of its emotional impact upon his self, but also because of the light it sheds on the history of the region, 'the present day, its schisms, its cross-currents, and its motives', but also potentially the future. (172) A passing political judgement is thus proffered implicitly on the country, in terms of the good character of the Persians, quite unlike Fraser's cynical judgments of 1910. Fowle's 'pilgrimage' through the Middle East is characterised by the expressions of emotion in his love of the road, and his response to the Passion Play. (38) Moreover, his narrative pace, which alternates between elisions and moments of absolute absorption in a time or place, points to the increasing focus on

[86] 'I think I could with difficulty obtain a written testimonial from most of my friends that I am of a fairly placid temperament, one whose nervous system is in excellent order. So I have no hesitation in confessing that I was not unaffected by such volume of sound, or that its hammer-like reiteration did not fail to rasp my nerves.' 171. Similarly: 'Even the only Christian and foreigner present feels that the wringing of Shimar's neck would give him not a little pleasure.' 182.

the narrative structure of travel-writing on Persia, with an eye to the enjoyment of the potential reader, as well as an interest in the fluidity of a traveller's memory.

Contemporary reviews commented on this possible enjoyment. *The Geographical Journal* of December 1916 traces Fowle's routes throughout the Middle East, and writes on Fowle 'fortunately for himself and his readers' witnessing the play at Gunabad. Considering Fowle's writing style, the reviewer credits him for writing 'for the entertainment of his readers' and feels 'he has written a pleasant and profitable book.' Despite criticising the 'style' as 'in places rather slovenly', the reviewer draws attention to the visual success of Fowle's text: 'the author can convey to us something of his own keen pleasure in the sights and encounters of the road. He can make us see clearly his landscapes and his city crowds, the caravan on the march, the camp, the groups in caravanserais or in the tents of the nomads… Captain Fowle has enjoyed his travels, and has made his reader enjoy them.'[87] These phrases highlight firstly the weight placed on the ability of the writer to conjure visual images before the reader's eyes, and secondly an appreciation of this less academic form of travel-writing, in which the traveller's and the reader's enthusiasm are acknowledged as justification for publication, as well as a marker of some quality in travel-writing. The parameters of evaluation of travel-writing have noticeably widened to include primarily entertaining works, even when they come from the pen of a British army officer, whose literary predecessors prided themselves on factual, scientific, or political studies in their travelogues.

The review in *The Scottish Geographical Journal* of September 1916 is similarly positive: 'Be it acknowledged with gratitude, [Fowle] has produced an eminently readable book and given us some clear impressions of the peoples and lands he traversed. Impressionist word-pictures interspersed throughout the volume reproduce most vividly a number of characteristic scenes.' Various such scenes are cited, which the reviewer feels 'may be mentioned as set pictures in the panoramic film.' There is an ambiguity in the reviewer's phrasing here, and it is not clear whether the 'panoramic film' is the flowing narrative, in which only certain images are 'set' and vivid to the reader; or whether the quality of Fowle's narrative is such that his

[87] C. G. S., 'Review', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 6 (December 1916), 504-505, p.505.

description evokes the Middle East in a manner comparable to filmed images of the region. It is sufficient, however, to note that the travelogue is compared with a relatively new, and increasingly popular, visual medium, and that this impacts on the language with which reviewers evaluate the worth of a travelogue. Moreover, the reviewer concludes that Fowle has 'an eye for an effective touch, and the literary skill, spiced with humour, to delineate it effectively.[88] Alongside academic quibbles about spelling and maps, both these reviews highlight the increasing importance of reader enjoyment in reception of travelogues, towards which Fowle has been striving – I would argue successfully – throughout his text.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the diversity of travelogues on Persia from 1909 to the First World War, and has demonstrated that the genre was diversifying at a rapid rate, with the entertainment of the reader of increasing concern. These texts are revolutionary in terms of the topics with which they engage and/or their radical writing style, and contribute to the immense body of information on Persia disseminated in London at this time. For all the upheavals of the Persian Constitutional Revolution and the looming shadow of the war, this chapter has closed with a text which celebrates continuity, and interprets the Passion Play as 'something firm and abiding in a country probably fated to great changes.' (186) In the composition of his narrative too, Fowle seeks to maintain a continuity in the face of great upheaval: as *The Geographical Review* notes, 'Having written his book before the war, he has not altered or enlarged it to satisfy our present curiosity.'[89] This is because Fowle wishes to present travel as it was before political changes brought by the war and technological changes in travel practices, and which will make his book 'not so much a picture… of present-day travel in the countries concerned as of travel-conditions of a bygone age; that is may haltingly answer the question, "What was it like" instead of "What is it like?"' Fowle predicts alongside political upheaval in the Middle East, the future will also bring 'those revolutionaries of travel – railways' and related profound changes in travel practices. He believes however that 'the said changes will in the

[88] Anon. review, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, Volume 32, Issue 9 (September 1916), 447-8.
[89] C. G. S., 505.

main affect politics, of which this book contains no mention from cover to cover…' (xi) For all the changes the war will bring, Fowle believes that:

> …in the wide spaces 'between' will still lie the happy hunting-grounds of the traveller, where wayfaring will stretch before him in all its primitive fascination as it did before the writer. And as for the cities… those – as far as the indigenous inhabitants are concerned – will continue to present the same features to the gaze of the traveller, by whatever new mode of locomotion he may arrive at their gates. (xi-xii)

In the early 1920s, however, British travel-writing on Persia is not characterised by 'the happy hunting-grounds of the traveller' but war memoirs which record British activity against Turkish and Russian forces in the north of the country, and against German triggered tribal insurgencies in the south. Furthermore the 'unchanging east' was ruptured by the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and Persia itself soon lost its Qajar dynasty.[90] The works of Forbes-Leith and Sackville-West in the late 1920s demonstrate an emphasis on the visual, a generally apolitical stance, and records of swift voyages across the Middle East by railway and even *to* the Middle East by car, all of which fulfil some of Fowle's predictions. It is in its poignant 1916 dedication, however, that Fowle's work offers a sense of the context of his immediate successors in the field of British travel-writing on Persia: 'In Memoriam: My brother… killed in action in the Dardanelles, June 4, 1915.' (v)

[90] '"The unchanging East!" Never was a less accurate phrase put forth among the commonplaces of journalism.' Report of the Joint Session of the Royal Asiatic Society, Société Asiatique, American Oriental Society, and Scuola Orientale, Reale Università di Roma, September 3-6, 1919, p.127.

Chapter 4: Wars and Cars: Military and Modern(ist) Travelogues on the "New Persia," 1919-1930

4.1 Introduction

Time and space are being annihilated today by the conquests of science, and all the peoples of the world are being brought together into increasingly close contact with one another under the pressure of material and moral forces of which the irresistible momentum is still only imperfectly apprehended. They had scarcely begun to emerge when nearly a half-century ago I first "heard the East a-calling."[1]

This chapter explores the variety of British writing on Persia during the 1920s. The first half of the decade witnessed the appearance of war memoirs which record the activities of British forces in Persia during World War I, engagement which is presented as peripheral to the European battlegrounds. Texts by Alfred Rawlinson and Lionel Dunsterville are discussed in detail.[2] A solider returning to the east some years after WWI took with him a film crew from Pathé Frères. Francis Forbes-Leith's travelogue, *By Car to India* (1925), makes reference to his memories of Iraq and Iran in 1918, and is notable for the modernity of the film which accompanied the textual publication.[3] Finally, the chapter considers Sackville-West's *Passenger to Teheran* (1926) and *Twelve Days* (1928). These texts are reassessed not through the lens of her relationship with Woolf, as has become a conventional approach to Sackville-West, but in terms of the texts' relationship to other British travel-writing on Persia.[4] Furthermore, the study of Sackville-West's works shall question to what extent literary modernism impacted upon travel-writing on Persia, and demonstrate how from the forgotten war memoirs British travel-writing on Persia – like so many other countries – achieved such high renown in the inter-war period.[5]

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[1] Valentine Chirol, 'Foreword,' *The Occident and the Orient: Lectures on the Harris Foundation, 1924* (Chicago, Illionois: The University of Chicago Press, 1924), p.viii. The quotation comes from Kipling's poem 'Mandalay,' in which a British solider returned to England speaks of his longing for Mandalay and the Burmese woman he has left behind: 'An' I'm learnin' 'ere in London what the ten-year soldier tells: / "If you've 'eard the East a-callin', you won't never 'eed naught else."' Rudyard Kipling, 'Mandalay,' *Barack-Room Ballads* (New York: Signet Class, 2003), pp.40-1, lines 29-30.
[2] Alfred Rawlinson, *Adventures in the Near East, 1918-22* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1923). Lionel Charles Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* (London: Edward Arnold, 1920).
[3] F. A. C. Forbes-Leith, *By Car to India* (London: Hutchinson, 1925).
[4] Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran* (London: L. & V. Woolf, 1926) and *Twelve Days: An account of a journey across the Bakhtiari mountains in South-western Persia* (London: L. & V. Woolf, 1928).
[5] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British literary traveling between the wars* (New York; Oxford: OUP, 1980).

During World War I Persia was invaded by British, Ottoman and Russian forces, despite her initial declaration of independence.[6] David Fromkin argues that: 'By 1915-16 the country had, for all practical purposes, disappeared as a sovereign entity, let alone one fully controlled by the Allied Powers.'[7] British engagement in and around Persia during WWI can be divided into two spheres. The first was focused on the south-east of the country, and sought to quell 'a fierce tribal uprising' that had been triggered by 'the most successful of the German agents, Wilhelm Wassmuss.' The uprisings were challenged by 'an 11,000-man British-officered native force, the South Persia Rifles,' led by Sykes, by now Brigadier General Sir Percy.[8] Rather than draw Sykes into the centre stage of this exploration of travel-writing on Persia again, thus limiting the number of authors considered overall, this thesis shall consider the records of men who fought in the second sphere of British engagement in Persia, in the north-west of the country. In 1915 Russian forces, concerned by Germany's increasing sway over Persian politicians and the Shah, 'supported by the 8,000-strong Russian-officered Persian Cossacks, occupied the north of the country, taking over the capital city of Teheran and, with it, the weak, recently crowned young Shah.'[9] With the Russian Revolution, Russian policy changed. Trotsky early in 1918 'Disclaim[ed] responsibility for any anti-Bolshevik Russian troops remaining on Persian soil, [and] expressed the hope that the other foreign armies occupying Persian soil – the Turks and the British – would withdraw as well.'[10] Britain at the end of the war, however,

[6] Mansoureh Ettehadieh, 'Constitutional Revolution iv. The aftermath,' *EI*, Online Edition, originally published: December 15, 1992, last updated: October 28, 2011, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-iv, accessed 20 March 2012. This article is available in print: Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp.193-199.

For histories of British engagement in Persia: Alan Stewart, *Persian expedition: the Australians in Dunsterforce, 1918* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2006); John Darwin, *Britain, Egypt and the Middle East: Imperial policy in the aftermath of war 1918-1922* (London: Macmillan, 1981); W. J. Olson, *Anglo-Iranian Relations During World War I* (London: Cass, 1984); John Fisher, *Curzon and British Imperialism in the Middle East, 1916-19* (London: Cass, 1999); Vanessa Martin, ed. *Anglo-Iranian Relations Since 1800* (London: Routledge, 2005); Denis Wright, *The English Amongst the Persians during the Qajar Period, 1787-1921* (London: Heinemann, 1977).

[7] Fromkin 209.

[8] Ibid. Martin Bunton, 'Sykes, Sir Percy Molesworth (1867–1945)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36395, accessed 11 April 2011]

[9] Fromkin 209. This was Ahmad Shah, the son of Mohammed Ali Shah, who had been exiled from Persia during the Constitutional Revolution. Ahmad Shah was the last of the Qajar rulers. The Persian Cossacks 'had been created in 1879 by the Russian Czar as a bodyguard for the Persian Shah.' Fromkin 460.

[10] Fromkin 353.

found itself '(and British India) with small forces in four areas of Persia.'[11] These men included Rawlinson, Dunsterville and, it can be inferred, Forbes-Leith. Only in May 1920 were the final British forces ordered out of Persia by the British government.

Like Sykes in south-east Persia, in London Curzon once again strode to the forefront of Anglo-Persian relations during the war. As Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords, Curzon was a member of several committees, one of which, as Bonakdarian notes, recalled in name but not in function the Persia Committee discussed in the last chapter. The Persian Government refused in July 1917 to recognise Sykes' South Persia Rifles or the British 'Government's intention to form a uniform military force which would include both the S.P.R. and the Cossack Brigade.' Meetings to discuss this and related matters were chaired by Curzon, and 'consisted of representatives from the Foreign Office, India Office and the War Office'; the group 'came to be called the Persia Committee.'[12]

Maintaining a close interest in Anglo-Persian relations after the war, Curzon was asked in January 1919 to 'take charge of the Foreign Office although Balfour… would remain Foreign Secretary… hardly an enticing position, but… it did establish him as Balfour's most likely successor.'[13] Indeed in October 1919, Curzon's succession of Balfour was 'widely welcomed,'[14] although his personality and working habits proved challenging for his subordinates and colleagues: 'One Private Secretary learnt to recognise his master's moods from his form of address, "Mr Nicolson" increasing in geniality through "Nicolson" to "my dear Harold".'[15] This was Sackville-West's husband, and Curzon told Harold how much he enjoyed Vita's early novel, *Grey Wethers*: 'a magnificent book… Such power! Not a pleasant book of course! But what English!'[16] His own work remained uppermost in his mind, as he took to reminding colleagues of his journey through Persia many years before: 'once, during a discussion on Persia, he cleared his throat and began, "You may not be

[11] Ibid, 456.
[12] Bonakdarian, 'The Persia Committee,' 207.
Fn. 114: Frederick Stanwood, *War, Revolution & British Imperialism in Central Asia* (London, Ithaca Press, 1983), pp.28-9. See also William J. Olson, *Anglo-Iranian Relations During World War I* (London, Cass, 1986), pp.186-7.
[13] Gilmour 502.
[14] Ibid, 506.
[15] Ibid, 507, 'Information from Nicolson to K. Rose, Rose Papers.'
[16] Ibid, 508, from Nicolson, *Vita and Harold*, p.123.

aware…" only to be interrupted by Balfour who said, "It's all right George, we all know you have written a monumental work on Persia."'[17] The outmoded opinions on Persia which Curzon held were to substantially destabilize Anglo-Persian relations.

With the Prime Minister concentrating on other parts of the Middle East, Curzon 'concentrated his energies on the organization of a new British-supervised regime in Persia that could transform the sprawling, anarchic, much-divided territory into an efficient, effective country able to support and defend itself, and thus dispense with British subsidies and troops.'[18] Gilmour stresses the heavy cost of the British subsidies. He suggests the total was 'some £30 million annually to prevent the disintegration' of Persia, which included 5,000 tomans a month (about £6,000) to the young Ahmad Shah.[19] As a solution, Curzon envisaged 'an Anglo-Persian treaty which would lead to the regeneration, under British tutelage, of a country he had long regarded as one of his special preserves.'[20] On 9th August 1919 the agreement was signed in Britain. Gilmour writes that Britain 'undertook to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and to supply, apart from the [£2 million] loan, military equipment, assistance in railway construction, and advisors for the Government and the armed forces.'[21] Fromkin writes: 'British officers were to construct a national railway network; British experts would reorganize the national finances; a British loan would provide the wherewithal for accomplishing these projects; and British officials would supervise the collection of customs duties so as to ensure that the loan would be repaid.'[22] Quoting Nicolson, Fromkin says: 'Curzon was proud of the Anglo-Persia Agreement… "A great triumph," he wrote, "and I have done it all alone."'[23] The agreement, however, was denounced on several sides, for 'the view that Britain was trying to colonize Persia "under the guise of magnanimity"' was not entirely unreasonable.'[24] Fromkin makes Curzon's short-sightedness more explicit than does Curzon's biographer Gilmour, saying that: 'He made no provision for the possibility that oil-conscious allies – France and the United States – might react against the

[17] Ibid, 510, 'Information from Amery to K. Rose, Rose Papers.'
[18] Fromkin 456.
[19] Gilmour 515, 'Cox to Curzon, 11 April 1919, PRO FO 371/3860.'
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid, 516.
[22] Fromkin 456-7.
[23] Fromkin 456, Harold Nicolson, *Curzon: The Last Phase 1919-1925* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), p.134.
[24] Gilmour, 516, 'Loraine quoted in Waterfield, *Professional Diplomat*, p.64.'

apparent grant to Britain of a political monopoly.' Furthermore, Curzon had not realised the shift in public opinion in Persia itself away from acceptance of burdensome western support: in Teheran, 'of the twenty-six newspapers and other periodicals published there at the time, twenty-five denounced the Anglo-Persian agreement.'[25]

Just five days after his coup, Reza Khan denounced the Agreement in February 1921. Major General Edmund Ironside had appointed Reza Khan head of the Persian Cossacks in the autumn of 1920. As British troops withdrew from Persia, Ironside told Reza Khan on 12th February 1921 that the remaining British forces 'would not oppose him if he carried out a *coup d'état*, so long as he would agree – as he did – not to depose the British-subsidized monarch, Ahmed Shah.'[26] British officials in London were 'unaware' of Ironside's involvement and dismayed at the turn of events, particularly Curzon.[27] According to Gilmour, he felt that he had 'devoted more years of labour in the last 35 years to the cause of Persian integrity and freedom than most other people have devoted days or hours' and yet this had resulted in the 'complete collapse of British prestige and influence' in Persia.[28] Furthermore, his long-standing Russophobia was inflamed by a treaty signed between Bolshevik Russia and Persia in February 1921, the first between the new Persian government and a foreign power.[29] In the aftermath of the war, therefore, Anglo-Persian relations were badly damaged. As Stephanie Cronin notes, Britain's 'capacity to intervene directly in Iranian politics collapsed and there was a gradual abandonment of traditional clients and friends, especially in the south, in favour of good relations with Tehran.' Between the wars there was thus 'a profound transformation in both the character and scope of Britain's role in Iran… It was only in the context of another world war that Britain once again reverted to direct military and political involvement in Iran.'[30] Cronin also notes the relative tranquillity in Persian domestic affairs, despite the events of 1921: 'the coup

[25] Fromkin 457; Ullman, *Anglo-Soviet Relations*, Vol. 3, p.352, n.11. As Gilmour says, Curzon could not understand Persian nationalism 'because he did not understand a phenomenon he had not come across in the bazaars of Isfahan or the pages of *Hajji Baba*.' 518-9.
[26] Fromkin 460.
[27] Ibid, 461.
[28] Gilmour 518, 'Curzon minute, 26 October 1922, PRO FO 371/7810; Waterfield, *Professional Diplomat*, p.62.'
[29] Fromkin 461.
[30] Stephanie Cronin, 'Britain, the Iranian Military and the Rise of Reza Khan,' *Anglo-Iranian Relations Since 1800*, ed. Vanessa Martin (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp.99-127, 124.

allowed Reza Khan to position himself to such strategic advantage that he was able to establish his personal ascendancy, through the posts of war minister, prime minister and finally shah, without recourse to any further violent political rupture.'[31] In 1925 Reza Khan deposed Ahmed Shah, who was by then living in Paris.[32] His 1926 coronation was witnessed by Sackville-West, and recorded in *Passenger to Teheran*. Mansoureh Ettehadieh argues that the war scuppered any chances of constitutionalism in Persia, which might otherwise have 'developed to a limited degree'; instead, 'all efforts at building a workable democracy failed, with fatal consequences for the future of constitutionalism in Persia.'[33]

Against the backdrop of these political developments, academic interest in Persia, its culture and history revived in the metropolis. The Persia Society, which existed 'for the purpose of stimulating interest, sympathy, and understanding between Persia and this country,' resumed its meetings and published a Magazine.[34] A major conference in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society in London in September 1919 demonstrates again the close network of Persophiles; Percy Sykes chaired the Sectional Meetings on 'The Near East, Persia, and Islam.'[35] The Director of the Royal Asiatic Society at this time was Sir Mortimer Durand: host to the Sykes siblings in the 1890s, lecturer at the Persia Society in 1912, and husband of Ella, whose *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia* was published in 1902. Sir Charles Lyall, a former administrator in British India as well as renowned scholar,[36] stood in for the absent Durand, and in his opening comments noted the cessation of study of the Orient during the war: 'The great catastrophe of the War has overthrown many other things besides empires. During its continuance, study was impossible. Now, with the advent of Peace, is the epoch of reconstruction, and this, in Oriental Studies in the West, is the inaugural meeting for the establishment of fresh effort.'[37] This sense of momentous change echoes the epigraph of this chapter, in which the traveller, journalist and author

[31] Cronin 123.
[32] Fromkin 460.
[33] Mansoureh Ettehadieh, 'Constitutional Revolution iv. The aftermath,' *EI*.
[34] *The Persia Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (March, 1921) (London: The Persia Society, 1921).
[35] *Report of the Joint Session of the Royal Asiatic Society, Société Asiatique, American Oriental Society, and Scuola Orientale, Reale Università di Roma, September 3-6 1919* (London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1920).
[36] William Foster, 'Lyall, Sir Charles James (1845–1920)', rev. Katherine Prior, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34642, accessed 11 April 2011]
[37] *Report of the Joint Session etc.* 126.

Valentine Chirol comments on the pressures of modernity upon international relations; forces which were unimaginable to him in the 1880s when he first saw Persia, amongst many other countries.[38] Similarly at the 1919 conference, Lyall condemned those who could not recognise the contemporary upheavals and their impact in the Middle East: '"The unchanging East!" Never was a less accurate phrase put forth among the commonplaces of journalism.'[39] British travelogues on Persia from the 1920s make this momentous change clear through their representations of war-torn Persia stricken by famine, then the new regime of Reza Khan. Travel practices too radically changed to encompass cars, first for soldiers and later for independent travellers. In many ways, therefore, one sees a sudden emergence of representations of technological modernity in travelogues of the 1920s, which were occasionally written in a modernist style.

4.2 Dunsterville and Rawlinson: 'A Backwater of the Great War'[40]

Early in 1918 [Lionel] Dunsterville was appointed head of a mission to Tiflis, Georgia, involving the reorganization of revolutionary Russian troops using a core group of officers and NCOs pulled from various fronts to oppose the Turkish push towards Baku's oilfields and the Caucasus. However, 'Dunsterforce' was understaffed and undersupplied at best, and had no real impact up to its disbanding in September 1918.[41]

This section explores the work of one of the two main groups of British troops in Persia during WWI, namely the "Hush-Hush Army," also known as "Dunsterforce," which engaged with Turkish and Russian forces in north-west Persia. While records of Percy Sykes' work with the South Persia Rifles and the East Persian Line of Communication exist, studying travelogues focused mainly on the north-west of the country makes clear the shifting focus of British anxiety about the sovereignty and strength of Persia.[42] As the quotation above suggests, Dunsterville was a not wholly successful body: it never reached Tiflis, now Tbilisi, instead halting in Baku whence

[38] Linda Brandt Fritzinger, 'Chirol, Sir (Mary) Valentine Ignatius (1852–1929)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32403, accessed 11 April 2011]
[39] *Report of the Joint Session etc* 127.
[40] William Dickson, *East Persia: A backwater of the Great War* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1924). See also Dunsterville: 'Things were distinctly dull, and one was beginning to feel that one had drifted into a backwater, when the welcome orders came bringing the longed-for opportunity of plunging once more into the tide.' 11.
[41] Samuel Pyeatt Menefee, 'Dunsterville, Lionel Charles (1865–1946)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, October 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58774, accessed 11 April 2011]
[42] See Appendix A.

it evacuated back to Persia, which was in 1918 and early 1919 in the throes of a terrible famine.[43] Part of the force's duties lay in counteracting a popular belief in 1918 that Germany would win the war as it pushed towards Amiens in Europe. This would result in a newly strengthened Turkey occupying parts of Persia and taking revenge on those who had sided with Britain during the war.[44] In addition, Dunsterforce was at the forefront of engagement with Bolshevik Russia; British officials were anxious about the possibility of a Bolshevik invasion of Persia, and the resultant spread of Bolshevism throughout central Asia in a domino effect.[45] Writers from Dunsterforce express an anxiety about the peripheral nature of their experiences to the Great War, as well as the impact of their actions. As Baku was abandoned to invading Turkish forces, who proceeded to kill the resident Armenian population, and as the British troops struggle to counteract the affects of the famine in Persia itself, there are few outright successes to be heralded by the writers.

The first text published by a member of Dunsterforce was *With the Persian Expedition* by M. H. Donohoe.[46] The Irish-born Donohoe, erstwhile resident of Australia, was a well known newspaper correspondent who had reported on the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War and the Turkish revolution, and been 'Special Correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*' for twenty years.[47] His career thus parallels those of Fraser, Moore and Churchill; a photograph of Donohoe and Churchill from 1900 shows them amongst 'a group of war correspondents in South Africa during the Boer War.'[48] The swift publication of Donohoe's text and its sweeping view of the work of Dunsterforce – even of events at which Donohoe was not present – echoes the far-seeing journalistic gaze of Fraser and his speedy publication on the Constitutional Revolution. Donohoe goes out of his way to justify Dunsterforce's

[43] Mohammad Gholi Majd, *The great famine and genocide in Persia, 1917-1919* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2003).
[44] For a more detailed discussion, see Dunsterville 132-3.
[45] Dunsterville 173.
[46] M. H. Donohoe, *With the Persian Expedition* (London: Edward Arnold, 1919).
[47] Donohoe vii. 'Great Career – Famous Correspondent – Death of Mr. M. H. Donohoe,' *The Brisbane Courier*, 21st January 1927, p.15, http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/21099118?searchTerm=m.%20h.%20donohoe&searchLimits=, accessed 20 March 2012. As in the case of the Irish Arthur Moore (Chapter 3), this discussion of Donohoe stretches the term 'British' in the title of this thesis, but as the first member of Dunsterville to publish on his experiences, some analysis of Donohoe's work and its contribution to the field is necessary.
[48] http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/group-of-war-correspondents-in-south-africa-during-the-boer-news-photo/3254814, accessed 20 March 2012.

ambition – ‘to defend Persian rights as much as to defend our own cause and the cause of the Allies’ (64-5) – and the publication of his memoir given the publication of so many war memoirs already. (v) Donohoe reveals that Dunsterforce included ‘Anzacs and Springboks, Canadians from the far North-West, men who had charged up the deadly shell-swept slopes of Gallipoli, and those who had won through at Vimy Ridge… a hardened band of adventurous soldiers… who had lived on the brink of the pit for three years and had come back from the Valley of the Shadow of Death.’ (3) On the whole Donohoe describes few military conflicts. Instead he emphasises the ‘appalling’ conditions he encounters in famine-stricken Persia, describing bodies of men and women lying by roadsides, or crawling ‘gaunt, haggard figures’ begging for food. (76-7) The contrast between the devastated populace of Kirind and the portly Governor, whose brother had recently died from over-eating at ‘some local festivity’, is highlighted by Donohoe. (87-8) Donohoe’s text is filled with anger at the iniquity of Persian society, and disappointment with the ‘Persian avarice, selfishness, and untrustworthiness of character’ as Dunsterforce begins famine relief efforts. (123-4) When conflict seems possible, Donohoe describes Persians under his command feigning acute cholera to avoid a battle; brusquely he interprets this as ‘pure funk, or… “cold feet”’ and warns the Persians that he was ordered ‘to shoot off-hand any of my command who became cholera-stricken, and to burn their bodies in order to prevent the disease spreading. The result was little short of magical.’ (178) Donohoe also mentions other British soldiers shooting fugitive Persians fleeing battle, thus emphasising the cowardice of Persians and the bravery of British forces, even as he reveals the complete breakdown of cooperation between Britain and Persia in the heat of an unseen battle. (173) The devastation after Dunsterforce retreats from Baku is described from a distance and only briefly: ‘for two days the town was given over to pillage, many of the Armenian irregulars being killed in cold blood by the enemy.’ (218) Donohoe’s publishers acknowledge the relatively pacific nature of this war memoir in their *Autumn Announcements*, included in the end pages of the text. Noting ‘though there is little of fighting in the story, the book gives an admirable picture of the Empire’s work done faithfully under difficulties, and glimpses of places and peoples that are almost unknown even to the most venturesome traveller. Indeed, it is largely as a book about an unknown land that this volume will attract, together with

its little pen-portraits of men and little pen-pictures of adventures, that Kipling would love.'[49] From the first published work by a member of Dunsterforce, therefore, one sees a deeply critical attitude towards Persians, exacerbated by the terrible conditions in which the soldiers encountered the country, quite at odds with earlier imaginings of exotic Persia.[50] One notes also this reference to Kipling, whom Donohoe quotes, as a model writer. In Baghdad as Allied troops take over the town, Donohoe imagines the stoic Hadjis viewing the 'new order of things' and coming to the 'philosophic conclusion that, as Kipling has it, "Allah created the English mad, the maddest of all mankind."'[51]

While Donohoe's publishers sought to draw a connection between Donohoe's writing style and Kipling's, there was already a well-known connection between Kipling and Dunsterville. The pair had attended United Services College at Westward Ho! in Devon in the 1870s, and with George Charles Bereford, undertook what Dunsterville later termed 'highly ingenious and often hugely successful' plots against 'masters and boys who incurred our dislike.'[52] Dunsterville was the inspiration for Stalky in Kipling's *Stalky and Co*, which drew on their escapades at the United Services College. This connection was familiar to their contemporaries, and one which Dunsterville exploited in the titles of his later life-writing.[53] A recent editor of *Stalky and Co*, Isabel Quigley, argues that: 'Dunsterville's exploits in the army provided a remarkable example of stalkiness in real life and justified all that Kipling felt and said about the school's capacity to train boys for the future.'[54] Prior to his experiences in Persia and Baku, Dunsterville was posted to Malta, Egypt and India, including the north-west frontier during WWI. Only in 1918 was he appointed head of the mission to Tiflis, and his recollections of *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* were published in 1920. Dunsterville's erstwhile school-friend had popularized the term 'The Great

[49] *Mr. Edward Arnold's Autumn Announcements*, p.3. Included in the closing pages of Donohoe's text.
[50] Donohoe is familiar with Marco Polo, Sinbad the Sailor and presumably other elements of the Arabian Nights, as well as Morier's *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, to which numerous references appear. Similarly, Dunsterville recommends the work, considering it 'the Oriental Gil Blas.' *L'Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane* by Alain-René Lesage is an eighteenth-century picaresque novel.
[51] Donohoe 53. Rudyard Kipling, 'Kitchener's School,' *The Five Nations* (London: Methuen and Co., 1903), pp.95-9.
[52] Samuel Pyeatt Menefee, 'Dunsterville, Lionel Charles (1865–1946)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, October 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58774, accessed 4 May 2011]
[53] Rudyard Kipling, *Stalky & Co.* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1899). Donohoe refers to the link confidently, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, 130. Dunsterville, *Stalky's Reminiscences* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928); *Stalky Settles Down* (London: Jarrolds, 1932).
[54] Quigley xxiii.

Game' for the rivalry between Russia and Britain in Central Asia in his novel *Kim*.[55] Central Asia is the locus of new conflicts in Dunsterville's text, as Russian Baku is fought over by the British army and Turkish forces, Bolsheviks, and local Azerbaijani nationalists; again, the security of Persia is a cause for concern in British India; and Dunsterville's Preface was composed in Agra after the war. In some ways, therefore, this text presents the continuance of nineteenth-century realpolitik in a formal text.

Dunsterville's text, perhaps an attempt at the definitive history of Dunsterforce, often draws on official correspondence, giving the work a sometimes stilted tone. Dunsterville is also explicit about his own anxieties about his writing style and ability to discuss all elements of his mission's work. The opening words of the text – 'The history of these adventures…' – seek to conjure a riveting, Stalky-esque narrative. (2) Dunsterville warns that his 'account is written from memory with only the assistance of a rough private diary. I can, therefore, only guarantee the facts while leaving numbers "round" and figures "approximate."' (v) Despite attempting to write about 'the mission as a whole' Dunsterville also suggests that the full story could only be told by 'those who led the several expeditions' that comprised Allied efforts in Persia; including Majors Wagstaff, Starnes and Macarthy, and Colonels Matthews, Keyworth and Stokes. (v) Unlike Donohoe's sweeping journalistic representation of the whole of the Dunsterforce history, Dunsterville highlights his limited perspective, despite his position as leader of the mission. He cautiously reiterates facts and his narrative, writing at the close of his first chapter: 'This, then, will suffice for a general introduction. I have endeavoured to make clear the strategic and political situation that resulted in the sending of the mission: I have given a rough description of the country over which the mission was to seek its adventures, and I have introduced the characters who are to take part in these adventures.' (10) Other moments echo the formal language of a military report, such as his description of the 'Battle of Menjil Bridge' against the rebel leader Kuchik Khan, and again when the Turks attack Baku and the British are forced to withdraw in September 1918. Describing these episodes, Dunsterville outlines the topography of the land and intended tactics.[56]

[55] Robert Johnson, *Spying for Empire: The Great Game in Central and South Asia, 1757-1947* (London: Greenhill Books, 2006), pp.25-6.
[56] Dunsterville 158-9 and 265 ff.

Similarly, when outlining his work in Baku, Dunsterville quotes at length from his 'correspondence with the local Government.' (264) This correspondence does not show Dunsterville to be a natural writer either. Of negotiations in Baku, Dunsterville writes: 'It must not be imagined from these that I had acquired the revolutionary love of writing. I was, as a matter of fact, most unwilling to use my pen, but these statements of opinion had to be put down in black and white to prevent the officials from denying later that they had been informed of certain facts and intentions.' (264) Writing for Dunsterville is a necessary chore, both during and after the war. His methodical political overviews, and synopses of engagements and treaties offered out of chronological order, make the work more of a thematic study than linear personal memoir, particularly in Chapters VI to VIII.[57] In contrast with these somewhat stilted passages which echo the language of formal reports, however, Dunsterville is capable of moments of entertaining writing, as in this précis which clarifies the situation in Baku:

> The lightning sears the night landscape on the eyeball. Here is a flash in the blackness through which we were stumbling.
>
> A British General on the Caspian, the only sea unploughed before by British keels, on board a ship named after a South African Dutch president and whilom enemy, sailing from a Persian port, under the Serbian flag, to relieve from the Turks a body of Armenians in a revolutionary Russian town.
>
> Let the reader pick his way through that delirious tangle, and envy us our task who will! (219)

The ship was named *President Krüger* after the South African leader of the Boers. Within the ship was a life-size image of 'Oom Paul' (Uncle Paul Krüger), which not surprisingly startled the South African members of Dunsterville's force who had fought against him. The flag was in fact the old Russian standard, which the Bolsheviks refused to have flown upright, unaware that upside down it resembles the Serbian flag. Dunsterville's commentary here is the most personable of the book, and seems to recognise the humour of the situation. It also serves to highlight most fully the blurred national boundaries through which these men travelled, and the shifting

[57] 'In describing the various phases through which the work of the mission passed at this time, it is difficult to adhere to an exact sequence. We were simultaneously engaged in so many parallel tasks that it is only possible to make the situation clear by devoting separate chapters to each phase. These chapters therefore do not describe events following one another, but events actually taking place concurrently.' 85-6. As an example, Chapter VII describes the famine, its causes, and the relief work undertaken over the course of the spring and summer.

loyalties of various nations during a time of war.[58] These lines, and others from Dunsterville's text, have been utilized by a twenty-first century historian of the region.[59]

Dunsterville's text is noteworthy, if not for its literary qualities, for its representation of modernity in his travel and experience of Persia. While his chapters on his journey to Persia recall the levity of pre-war travel (Chapter II – 'A Pleasure Trip on Reconnaissance', Chapter III – 'The Sea! The Sea!'), his traversing of Persia is marked by modern vehicles and related concerns about supply-lines. He humorously notes that: 'The delay… to be expected when travelling with forty-one cars is roughly forty-one times the average delay when travelling with one car. It may be considered a good day when the average speed approaches 10 miles an hour.' (16) These armoured cars' need for fuel causes one of Dunsterville's administrative headaches. (14) Far from the symbiotic relationship between horse and rider, and measuring the landscape by caravanserais or *farsakhs*,[60] Dunsterville and his men interpret the language through cars and roads. In Kasvin, which functions as Dunsterforce's headquarters, the needs of the drivers leads Dunsterville to rechristen the streets 'to facilitate the giving of directions to drivers. Thus Oxford Street, Piccadilly and the Strand greeted one in each town with a cheery reminiscence of the Homeland' (175):

> The imposing of such a nomenclature on the streets of these historic towns may savour somewhat of vandalism, and we had many kind suggestions as to a more suitable series of names commemorating the heroes of ancient history. These suggestions made a strong appeal to our artistic sense, but in war time the artistic must give way to the purely utilitarian. Names were chosen which the lorry drivers would remember and which would cheer them up. Memories of Rustam the valorous, and other Persian heroes of the glorious past, would have been quite beyond their powers of appreciation or of memory.
>
> It is quite probable that these names made Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Alexander the Great turn in their graves; if so I regret it. In spite of our historic surroundings we had to be ultra-modern; and I am sure that the names of the streets cannot have been half so distressing to the spirits of the ancient heroes as my "Daylight Saving Bill." (175-6)

[58] On a related point, Dunsterville is critical of Kuchik Khan's cry of 'Persia for the Persians': 'In Persia there are large communities of Turks, Turcomans, Jews, and Armenians who have been there for centuries; are these Persians?' 152.
[59] Thomas De Waal, *The Caucasus: An introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), p.64. See also p.3.
[60] The distance a horse could cover in an hour, three to four miles depending on the British traveller, the landscape, and the animal. See Ella Sykes, *Through Persia*, 70.

While knowledge of Persian epic poetry and traditional heroes still figures in the mind of at least this officer if not his men, the temporal rupture of the war forces him to be 'ultra-modern.' Old ways of viewing Persia are no longer useful to the Britons there. The shadows of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Alexander are overlain with new British-centric nomenclature, and, moreover, British-India facing time. Dunsterville's Daylight Saving Bill puts 'all clocks… forward two hours' to maximise efficiency in the town. (176) As an occupying power Dunsterville's forces introduce modern technologies to Persia in the form of Ford cars traversing the landscape, but Dunsterville's impact is subtly even more imposing. While implicitly denying the coevality of Persia in this dusty 'historic town,' Dunsterville imposes a new kind of modernity on Persia through his choice of time, which places his headquarters on or closer to British Indian time.

The question of the modernity or otherwise of Persia is similarly thrown into sharp relief by Alfred Rawlinson's memoir of Dunsterforce, *Adventures in the Near East*, published in 1923 after his lengthy imprisonment in Turkey. Rawlinson's memoir is a more geographically and temporally expansive work than either Donohoe's or Dunsterville's, and describes Rawlinson's experiences in early Kemalist Turkey after the war. Alfred was the son of Henry Rawlinson, whose work is discussed in the Introduction to this thesis as an example of the combination of political work and cultural study which typified much mid-nineteenth-century British engagement with Persia.[61] Alfred's career was more diverse than his father's, including a spell in the army before a career 'in the early days of motor-car racing,' and then as an aeroplane pilot before returning to the army.[62] His different careers emphasise the new technologies which were to have such an impact on the war and later travel to the region. Perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, Rawlinson's work with Dunsterforce focused on transport, and his text's engagement with cars prefigures the experiences of Forbes-Leith, Sackville-West and Robert Byron.

[61] Alfred's brother commanded the Fourth Army during the Battle of the Somme, and worked after the war in India. Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, 'Rawlinson, Henry Seymour, Baron Rawlinson (1864–1925)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35690, accessed 18 April 2011]

[62] Sir Percy Scott, 'General Introduction,' *Adventures in the Near East*, pp.vii-ix, vii.

As Dunsterville acknowledges Rawlinson's arrival in his text, Rawlinson describes Dunsterville in complimentary terms.[63] Furthermore, Rawlinson's text echoes Dunsterville's in its anxiety about writing style. In his Preface he self-deprecatingly tells his reader that pressure to write the volume had come from friends whose belief that his adventures in 'many queer places' merited inscription. He apologetically goes on: 'Knowing nothing of how such a story ought to be written, I hope my readers will bear with my inexperience of "writing," in consideration of the variety of experiences of other kinds which this book endeavours to put before them.' Demonstrating this common anxiety with readability, Rawlinson aims to avoid 'political questions… wherever possible,' saying that they are 'only introduced where some knowledge of the actual conditions obtaining at the time becomes necessary to enable the reader to appreciate the incidents related.' (Preface, v) Within the multipartite memoir, three commanders introduce sections of the work. Percy Scott, one of the commanders, writes that Rawlinson 'tells the story of his adventures in the Near East in a singularly attractive form.'[64] Dunsterville writes that Rawlinson 'offers the reader a very vivid picture' the of various episodes which bordered on 'burlesque, though we now know that tragedy was following very closely on the heels of comedy.' Dunsterville notes how Rawlinson 'dwells on the comic side of the episodes, realising that the reader will not fail to appreciate the tragedy of it all.'[65] This use of humour characterises Rawlinson's work and shows his efforts to present an entertaining narrative to his readers. In his journey to Persia Rawlinson's text recalls peacetime narratives in the chapter title 'Eastward Bound to the Tigris,' and the figure of the P. & O. captain, even as the convoy faces German torpedo attacks. (19) Rawlinson wryly notes: 'The rail journey from Cairo to Suez via Ismailia is no joy-ride in summer, even in peace-time, and rail travelling is certainly no *more* comfortable in war-time.' (15) The siege at Aden, a port on the southern coast of what is today Yemen, ('generally a most dismal place') is also described wryly:

> [Aden] was at this time more interesting that it has ever been, either before or since, as the Turks were besieging the town. The siege was somewhat of the comic opera kind, as the belligerents fired at each other occasionally only, and that at excessive range, and this firing was said only to take place when the Turks did not allow the

[63] Dunsterville 179 and Rawlinson 59.
[64] Scott, in *Adventures in the Near East*, viii.
[65] Dunsterville, 'Introduction' in *Adventures in the Near East*, 3.

> fresh vegetables to be brought in from the mainland! This was the report, for the accuracy of which I cannot vouch.[66]

Perhaps the passage of time since the war enabled or encouraged Rawlinson to introduce humour into his memoir. Moreover, his descriptions of his wretched time in prison in Turkey in the latter chapters of the book highlight the absurdity of much of Dunsterforce's work.

One such moment of absurdity comes as Rawlinson and his colleagues attempt to traverse the Tek-i-Gehri pass by car:

> The immortal Henry Ford, when designing the only less immortal vehicle with which he has endowed mankind, took account in his design of almost every slope he knew of, and made it master of all; but though he knew much, yet his knowledge was, it appears, even then incomplete, as he was unacquainted with the Tek-i-Gehri and its slope. The pilgrim climbs this with more or less ease, according to his age and figure, but its gradient effectually brought both my Fords to an uncompromising halt at the most critical part of the ascent, and thereby augmented the already sufficiently excited state of nervous tension with which we were then all struggling manfully. (44)

The new cars and their designer are 'immortal' but the ancient track defeats them. Pilgrims have crossed this pass for centuries *en route* to Mecca, but new technology is defeated by the gradient. The men are reduced to pushing the cars up the slope, crawling underneath them to cross from front to rear rather than hanging over the edge of the precipice. They relish the challenge and comedy of the situation: 'the old rocks rang and echoed again and again with the hearty laughter of the whole party.' (44) The Persian landscape is encountered and represented through the prism of cars, and the travelogue records journey times and distances in detail. This information updates the details of Curzon's work for the new technology and future travel practices.

Rawlinson writes of his own innovative light-weight camouflaging and armouring of a Ford car, designed to stun 'the many spies' who would 'report the existence of this

[66] Rawlinson 18. Sackville-West similarly deplored the town in 1926: 'Aden, which of all outposts of empire seemed to be the most forlorn and disagreeable, though an old soldier on board told me it was "not so bad – you get cheap polo, and shoot lion in Somaliland". I hope this proves compensation to the unfortunate regiments stationed there; for my part, I would as soon throw myself to the sharks than live in that arid, salty hell.' *Passenger to Teheran*, 44.

new and awe-inspiring vehicle, which crossed the fields with ease and jumped the ditches like a horse, vomiting bullets all the while unceasingly!' (62) Not only through their conveyance of weapons and military prowess do the cars shatter the Persian landscape: near Behistun or Bisidun (47), site of his father's great achievement, Rawlinson's convoy destroys an ancient bridge. Again, the disjuncture between site and technology occurs:

> No doubt the engineers of those far-off days never contemplated their work being called upon to carry a convoy of 5-ton American motor-lorries loaded to their utmost capacity, for the "crown" of the bridge offered such an excessively steep ascent that it was necessary for each individual lorry to charge it in turn at full speed in order to "get over." This very modern and violent form of attack proved altogether too much for the venerable construction, which had for so many centuries withstood every kind of strain with which its designers were familiar, and in the middle of the attack it was suddenly discovered that the crown of the arch was no longer there! We were therefore forced to complete the passage of our convoy by the still more ancient custom of fording the stream… (50)

As the convoy is forced to undertake more traditional methods of crossing the stream, Rawlinson comes face-to-face with his father's 'lodestone' – Darius' cuneiform inscription. In a single paragraph, Rawlinson's introduction to the site emphasises time and history: there is 'the most delightful spring of ice-cold water running from an ancient fountain dating back to the days of Darius, nearly 3,000 years ago'; the cuneiform inscription was 'unread and undecipherable for 2,500 years'; and his father worked at the site for 'twelve long years… until… after twelve years' continuous study, he gave the long-lost language back to the world… and so laid bare to history the records of Darius, King of Kings.' (48) Touchingly, the middle-aged Alfred is 'astonished at the terrible difficulties' his father must have overcome in climbing '100 feet or more over the hardest and sharpest of rocky débris' to reach the inscription. Henry Rawlinson was in his fifties when his sons were born, and apparently told them 'many tales' of his exploits which are fixed 'ineradicably' in Alfred's memory. One senses the shock of Alfred appreciating the youthful vigour of his father some eighty years ago. Only on visiting the site is he astonished by the physical effort of reaching the inscription, he writes, 'as I had ever been amazed at his success in his apparently impossible task of afterwards deciphering them.' (48) In quite different ways, Rawlinson's narrative around the site of Behistun emphasises the challenges the Persian landscape presented to Europeans, whether scholars or officers.

Rawlinson's extended temporal frame of reference also appears in more commonplace antiquarian asides. In his description of the town Hamadan Rawlinson refers to Herodotus and Alexander the Great, and the Old Testament Book of Esther and her marriage to King Ahasuerus. (54) He writes that: 'The most striking part of this old country is the absence of any change or progress during the lapse of the 3,000 years with respect to which we have reliable information as to the habits and customs of its inhabitants.' Rawlinson claims therefore 'all the old characters of the Bible are here met in everyday life, exactly the same in every respect as their prototypes in ancient times,' including 'the modern Ruth' and 'a modern, elderly Boaz.' Pessimistically, however, he concludes that: 'It requires… a considerable stretch of imagination to anticipate that the production of another King David will result today, as was formerly the case.' (55) As Rawlinson's text was published, however, Reza Khan was already rising to power as leader of a new Iran. For Rawlinson modernity is evident in the western visitor to Persia, with his cars and destruction of the landscape. Persia itself remains unchanged for millennia, with little foreseeable chance of modernisation. Rawlinson problematically overlooks recent Persian history to emphasise his engagement with an ancient world, as his father had done through his translation of Darius' inscriptions.

British depictions of engagement in Persia during the Great War are thus characterized by an awareness of the peripheral nature of their work in relation to the battlefields of Europe, and a related concern for writing style as they seek to imbue their texts with value that the military factor does not grant. In the case of Rawlinson in particular, the light tone of the work suggests an amateur implied reader rather than fellow soldier, historian or politician. Moreover both Rawlinson and Dunsterville's works present a conflict between the modernity of writers' experiences and the supposed antiquity of the country. This denial of coevality despite the constitutional revolution, the war itself and – in the case of Rawlinson – the contemporary rise to power of Reza Khan, suggests the war memoirs on Persia present a greater than usual orientalist attitude. The works are characterized by backwards glances, to Rustum or Darius, the Great Game, or the race to translate cuneiform. A similarly intertextual body of works exists which describe Britain's efforts to restore peace and security in

East Persia during WWI, and these too could be collectively analysed.[67] These too reveal anxiety about their writing in comparison with works considering events in Europe. Earlier central travel-writers on Persia emerge in WWI histories too: Percy Sykes wrote of the South Persia Rifles in later editions of his *History of Persia*, and that other travel-writing on Persia behemoth Curzon appears in later pages of Rawlinson's work.[68] British writing on Persia thus still in the early 1920s stems from a relatively small and interconnected body of men. This is true also of the next text to be analysed: Forbes-Leith's *By Car to India*. Forbes-Leith was also a member of Dunsterforce, and his text also depicts a contrast between the western traveller's mode of transport and the countries through which he speeds.

4.3 Forbes-Leith: Travel Films and Travelogues

The Scotsman Francis Forbes-Leith's travelogue *By Car to India* (1925) and related travel film provide a discursive connection between the war members of his erstwhile colleagues, and the modernity of Sackville-West's travelogues and her interest in the Bakhtiari tribes.[69] Like other members of Dunsterforce, Forbes-Leith presents orientalist attitudes, but quite unlike his predecessors, Forbes-Leith makes use of popular and populist discourse and media to transmit his work, including the travel-film *The Lure of the East*.[70] Forbes-Leith's career echoes that of many other British soldier/travel-writers considered within this thesis. He writes of having been in Kasvin, headquarters of Dunsterforce, 'during and after the War' and 'naturally every building and street had an interest' for him as he revisits it in 1924; it is, however,

[67] Reginald Dyer, *The Raiders of the Sarhad: Being the account of a campaign of arms and bluff against the brigands of the Persian-Baluchi border during the Great War* (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1921). L.V.S. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 1922). Edmund Candler's *On the Edge of the World* (London: Cassell & Co., 1919). William Dickson, *East Persia: A backwater of the Great War* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1924).
[68] Rawlinson 250, 373.
[69] Forbes-Leith describes himself as 'Caledonian,' 18.
[70] The travel-film in its original form exists now only as far as the Pai Tak pass. Four cuts reels contain further material on Persia filmed by Forbes-Leith and Montagu Redknap. 'The Lure of the East,' British Pathé. http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=74899.
Cuts reel 1: http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=74900.
Cuts reel 2: http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=74901.
Cuts reel 3: http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=83935.
Cuts reel 4: http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=83943 [All accessed 16 May 2011].
In the cuts reels, some of the footage from Forbes-Leith's journey is muddled with footage from other documentaries.

'quite sad to miss the old familiar khaki.' (186) After the war Forbes-Leith lived in Hamadan 'for some years.' (178) 'Shortly after the war' he was given the responsibility of 'administering the domain of a Persian nobleman of royal blood' in which one of his duties was 'to deal with all petty crime and all civil cases of dispute.' (176) During at least some of this time, Forbes-Leith's wife accompanied him, as he refers to the couple residing in a British military hospital for some days in 1921. (183-4) These lengthy residences, military and judicial responsibilities parallel Percy Sykes' work in the 1890s and 1900s. Forbes-Leith refers to Sykes' South Persia Rifles in passing, (218) and the railway brought to east Persia during the war (223). Forbes-Leith thus at least knew of Sykes, proving himself to be, like so many writers considered within this thesis, part of a strongly interconnected community.

The book is one of a body of travelogues from the 1920s which emphasise modern forms of transport including cars or occasionally motorbikes. These new travel practices shape travelogues quite specifically, as countries could be encountered quite briefly depending on road conditions. Often the end of the journey and the achievement of traversing so far by motor outweighed the experience of seeing an individual country. This increasing emphasis on passage rather than stasis within a country is reflected in the title not only of Forbes-Leith's work, but also in Malcolm Ellis' *Express to Hindustan* and Gustav Stratil-Sauer's *From Leipzig to Cabul*.[71] Both the Australian Ellis and the German Stratil-Sauer's routes took in Persia, and one sees the country increasingly described as part of one of these transcontinental drives rather than a final destination. It would, however, be overstating Persia's presence in travel itineraries to label it a tourist destination in the 1920s. These journeys were still taken on the whole independently of travel companies such as Cook's, and conditions were often difficult, as stressed by the review of Ellis and Stratil-Sauer's works in the *Scottish Geographical Journal*.[72]

As Forbes-Leith notes, however, the car was being rapidly overtaken by the aeroplane as means of transport. Aeroplanes had by the beginning of 1924 'proved their ability

[71] Malcolm Ellis. *Express to Hindustan: An account of a motor-journey from London to Delhi* (London: John Lane, 1929). Gustav Stratil-Sauer, *From Leipzig to Cabul: an account of my motor-cycle ride to Afghanistan.* Trans. Frederic Whyte (London: Hutchinson & Co.,1929). Originally published as *Fahrt und Fessel. Mit dem Motorrad von Leipzig nach Afghanistan* (Berlin: August Scherl, 1927).
[72] 'New books,' *Scottish Geographical Journal* (1929) 45: 5, 300-15, p.303-4.

to get [to India] on several occasions.' Indeed, this route was on the verge of becoming commercialised as 'an airship service was projected.' (7) As neither traditional nor cutting edge transport, Forbes-Leith's car is humorously aligned with outmoded horse-back journeys, treated 'as a trainer treats a racehorse' and christened 'Felix'. (24) The name Felix is chosen on account of 'the famous film cat, whose effigy was perched, as a mascot, on the car.' (13) Felix was a cartoon character in comic strips and on film, and this reference to popular culture renders the text of its time and populist in its frame of reference.[73] The car is a British model: 'a 14 h.p. Wolseley, Colonial pattern, touring car' fitted with 'Rapson oversize tyres.'[74] While Percy Sykes' products were advertised in the end pages of his sister's book, here perhaps a form of sponsorship is ensured as Felix's excellence is reiterated throughout the work, usually through admiring personification. The Wolseley is contrasted with the wartime American Fords, which Forbes-Leith slights (117 and 141-2). The 8,527 mile journey takes five and a half months, of which ninety-six days were spent on the road.[75] The narrative is therefore more dynamic than other travelogues considered within this thesis, with each country described quite briefly.

With the modern mode of transport came the modern film crew, primarily as pragmatic source of financial support. The envisaged journey required 'a great deal of money' and 'it was necessary… to show that the expedition could… be made to pay for itself by means of a travel film and by the interesting journalism to which the journey would lend itself.' (7) A cinematographer from Pathé Frères, Montagu Redknap, 'one of their experts in travel cinematography,' is selected for his ability to withstand hardships as proven by a recent trip to British Guiana. (10) Forbes-Leith's travel is further facilitated by wages from journalism, and he tells a Turkish officer that he was 'the Special Correspondent of many prominent newspapers in all parts of the world.' (78-9) One example is his lengthy article in the August 1925 edition of

[73] See for example: *The Felix Annual. Picture stories of the famous film cat* (London, 1926).
[74] Forbes-Leith 9. 'Wolseley is one of the oldest names in British motoring history – the first Wolseley car was built by the company's general manager Herbert Austin in 1896.' *Wolseley Car Briefing: Practical Classics and Car Restorer* (Beckenham, Kent: Kelsey Publishing Limited, 1991), p.4.
[75] In his article for *The National Geographic* Forbes-Leith writes: 'Of the 8,527 miles covered, 3,000 were void of road or track, 1,500 were over waterless desert, and 100 over seemingly bottomless silver sand. We bumped for 249 miles over railways sleepers, and had to find our way around 150 broken bridges. Our total bill for spare parts was less than $14. We used but two sets of tyres and had only two punctures.' Major F. A. C. Forbes-Leith, 'From England to India by Automobile: An 8,527-mile Trip Through Ten Countries, from London to Quetta, Requires Five and a Half Months,' *The National Geographic Magazine* (August, 1925), Vol. XLVIII, No. 2, 191-223, p.223.

The National Geographic Magazine, a fulsome summary of the book with sometimes identical vignettes and phrases. The article includes twenty-seven half-page photographs, five-full page photographs (only six of the total were taken by Forbes-Leith), and a map; the Hutchinson book contains only eight photographs, and no map.[76] *The National Geographic Magazine* emphasises visual depictions of a journey as much as the written word. One infers the British publishers considered many images too expensive, or unnecessary in the light of the available travel-film, of which Forbes-Leith had high hopes. He tells rapt figures in Pirot, Serbia, who are keen to appear on film, that 'their photographs would probably be shown half the world over.' (50) Depictions of a journey through Persia are thus disseminated primarily through the new and populist medium of the travel-film.

Within the text Forbes-Leith highlights the rapid expansion of cinematography in both creative and documentary forms in the mid-1920s. In Paris the men are met by the famous actor Douglas Fairbanks, whose best-known film *The Thief of Bagdad* was released in the same year as Forbes-Leith undertook his journey. (14-5) Fairbanks instigated the creation of this film, 'inspired by several of the *Arabian Nights* tales,' after reading 'a beautiful new edition of *The Arabian Nights* (then in vogue as a result of a new translation)' in 1922.[77] Many travel-writers comment on their childhood reading of versions of these tales, and one notes here its forthcoming transformation into film, as Forbes-Leith himself was about to present film images of contemporary Iraq and Iran to British audiences. Fairbanks' film was part of a body of representations of the supposedly exotic Orient, of which Forbes-Leith is no admirer. He calls them 'sublime misrepresentations' of Arab nomads, which have left 'over-romantic British and American flappers… sheik-struck.'[78] This criticism comes as the car, crossing the desert to Baghdad, stops at a well and is immediately surrounded by

[76] See footnote above. The April 1921 *National Geographic* (Vol. XXXIX, No. 4), was dedicated to Persia, and contained over one hundred illustrations, sixteen of which are full-page colour plates. F.L. Bird, 'Modern Persia and Its Capital: And an Account of an Ascent of Mount Demavend, the Persian Olympus,' 353-400. Harold F. Weston, 'Persian Caravan Sketches: The Land of the Lion and the Sun as Seen on a Summer Caravan Trip,' 417-468.

[77] Jeffrey Vance with Tony Maietta, *Douglas Fairbanks* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2008), p.154. Forbes-Leith also cites the 'Arabian Nights Entertainments' read by many children in 'From England to India' p.217.

[78] Forbes-Leith 151. This refers almost certainly to Rudolph Valentino's *The Sheik* (1921); the sequel *The Son of the Sheik* was released in 1926. Billie Melman traces the 'sheik mania' of 1919-28, and studies the books on which Valentino's films were based: E. M. Hull's *The Sheik* (1919) and *The Sons of the Sheik* (1925). Hull was also travel writer. Billie Melman, *Women and the Popular Imagination in the Twenties: Flappers and Nymphs* (London: MacMillan Press, 1988), pp.89-104.

'a filthy, howling mob of men, women and children, all screaming for backsheesh.' (151) Forbes-Leith's criticism of filmic idealised and romantic portrayals of nomadic life is undermined by his own orientalist portrayal of the Bedouin he encounters as filthy and greedy. He struggles to comprehend the successes of ancient Persian empires, saying after describing the inscriptions at Bisitun: 'It is extremely hard to believe that they were a great and civilised race when our ancestors were running about in coats of blue paint.' (174) More orientalist tropes exist: 'Almost everyone in Persia is corrupt;' 'The Persian mind works in a way entirely different from ours;' 'A good threshing-machine would accomplish in two days the same amount that it takes these primitive people… two months to accomplish.'[79] His choice of vocabulary is sometimes astounding: as they travel from Kerman to Quetta and Felix struggles with the sand, he writes 'Redknap and Hussein worked like niggers' to dig the car out repeatedly. (221) This unexpected use of a pejorative term from another sphere demonstrates a wide net of what is now considered racist terminology on which this traveller draws. Forbes-Leith's opinions and vocabulary situate him firmly within the British imperialist mind-set, and there is a tension between his deeply traditional attitudes towards Persians, and the modernity of his travel and dissemination thereof.

Alongside this pejorative attitude towards Persia, however, lies an admiration of the nomadic lifestyle in contrast with western modernity, which is echoed in Sackville-West's *Twelve Days*. Outside of Shiraz the men are entertained by a wealthy chief, and explore the 'immense camp' wherein his tribe are currently based. Forbes-Leith writes of 'this primitive existence, which many a jaded and worried city man would be glad to share.'[80] While the adjective 'primitive' retains an orientalist tone, this concept of the 'city man' gladly escaping to it suggests that the contrast that areas of Persia offered to the western Europe was no longer seen wholly in pejorative terms. This is not simply a response to the horrors of WWI, for Forbes-Leith recognises the threats of this existence too:

> It was a perfect, simple life, and as near to nature as it is possible to get, and as I reclined lazily by the camp fire that night I found myself envying these people, who live a life far apart from the hurry, bustle, and heart-breaking competition of the

[79] Forbes-Leith 174, 175, 185
[80] Forbes-Leith 210. For footage of Forbes-Leith with this chief and the meal they enjoyed, see the second of the four cuts reels films, around ten minutes into the footage. http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=74901

> present-day world, even though they do have to lie down to sleep with cocked rifles. (211)

Instead, the appeal of the peaceful nomadic existence lies in its contrast to the commercialisation and pace of 'the present-day world'; travel becomes, then, an escapist activity through experience of other ways of life or different scenery, as suggested in Forbes-Leith's appreciation of Persian sunrises.[81]

A near contemporaneous film stresses the difficulties of the life of nomadic tribes, specifically the Bakhtiari tribe, to a greater extent than does Forbes-Leith in his film or text. The early ethnographic film *Grass*, shot in 1924 by the Americans Merian C. Cooper, Ernest B. Schoedsack and Marguerite E. Harrison, offers incredible footage of the migration of fifty thousand Bahktiaris across the Karun River and over Zardeh Kuh mountain in the Zagros range.[82] The film depicts the Bakhtiari as 'The Forgotten People' although they were of course familiar to many British Persophiles and had been described by Isabella Bishop amongst others. As the filmmakers travel east towards the tribe, two intertitles read: 'But going ahead, we were turning the pages backwards – and on and on further back into the centuries / Till we reached the first chapter, and arrived at the very beginning' after which a map of Persia appears. Both 1924 Persia and the lives of the Bakhtiari are thus denied coevality with the west, but the footage makes evident the filmmakers' respect for the resilience of the Bakhtiaris as they undertake the gruelling migration in desperate search for grass and survival. One can only speculate as to whether Sackville-West was familiar with the film prior to her travels in the same region.

Sackville-West's choices and self-representation contrast with the British women whom Forbes-Leith meets and admires during his journey, and whose function recalls that of Ella Sykes some thirty years earlier. Forbes-Leith writes of encountering 'Mr. and Mrs. James, of Baghdad' camping in the desert between Damascus and Iraq, where they had 'taken advantage of short leave to go to the valley of Lebanon for a

[81] Forbes-Leith writes of one in Persia that 'the wonderful colouring, and the reflection of the mountains in the perfect, smooth water of the lake, made it a subject that Turner would doubtlessly have sold his soul for the opportunity of reproducing.' 216.
[82] *Grass*, dir. M. C. Cooper, E. B. Schoedsack and M. E. Harrison (Milestone Film & Video, New York, 1991) [on DVD].

change from the burning sun of Mesopotamia.' (148) He takes this opportunity to express his admiration for British women travellers:

> I am convinced that the secret of Britain's success as a pioneer nation is due in no small degree to her women, who, unlike those of any other nation, are content to share the discomforts and hardships with their men in little-known countries of the world without complaint, and even with enthusiasm. …it is a hard life for a woman.
>
> I doff my hat to Mrs. James and her like – women who accept such a life smiling, and without complaint. (149)

Similarly, in Hamadan, Forbes-Leith and his crew 'were welcomed by my old friends, Mr. and Mrs. Welldon of the Oriental Carpet Company, and to sit down once more with them to a comfortable meal, in a real English house, was a great treat.' (179) Forbes-Leith here expresses admiration for the impression of a British house created almost certainly within a Persian-styled building. Women are admired by Forbes-Leith for their contribution to the home abroad, their stoicism, and their willingness to give up their home comforts to join their husband. In travelogues on Persia from the first half of the 1920s, women's voices had been largely absent, though as Forbes-Leith's text makes clear, they were still present. Furthermore, the cut reels of the film there appear unexplained images of European women in a variety of unknown settings, some of which may come from Quetta. The first woman to publish on her travels in Persia for some years adopted an androgynous narrative voice, and had refused to accompany her husband on his diplomatic service, an act which one imagines would have horrified Forbes-Leith. While Forbes-Leith's significance to the development of British travel-writing on Persia rests on his journey by car and the travel-film, Vita Sackville-West's contribution lies most emphatically in the quality of her modernist writing style.

4.4 Vita Sackville-West: Relocating a Modernist Travelogue

> *I find that not one person in six knows where Persia is.*
> *Vanessa could only say that it was "not in America."*[83]

[83] *Vita and Harold: The letters of Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson*, ed. Nigel Nicolson (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992), p.136. The letter from Vita to Harold relates a dinner Vita attended in Brighton on 26th December 1925, with Vanessa and Clive Bell, their sons Julian and Quentin, and Virginia and Leonard Woolf.

Unlike many other texts discussed within this thesis, Vita Sackville-West's *Passenger to Teheran* (1926) was republished within her lifetime, and has already been the subject of literary study.[84] This analysis contextualises Sackville-West's work within the body of British travel-writing on Persia of this period. Moreover it emphasises her links with several significant figures who influenced Anglo-Persian relations, which impacts upon her second Persia travelogue in particular, *Twelve Days* (1928). This study does not focus on Sackville-West's relationship with Woolf, which has been discussed by others.[85] Instead, it focuses on Sackville-West's earlier awareness of Persian culture, her refusal to accompany her diplomat husband, and the texts' dialogue with the developing body of travel-writing on Persia. It argues that the emergence of Sackville-West's "travel literature" is a foreseeable development in the light of writers' increasing concern for their travelogues' readability and prose style.

Passenger to Teheran describes Sackville-West's journey to Persia by train, boat and car via Egypt, Iraq and India, and her return through Soviet Russia and revolutionary Poland in 1926. Five central chapters describe impressionistically her time in Persia, including a visit to Isfahan and Kum, and the coronation of Reza Khan. *Twelve Days* is quite different in form, content and structure: brief chapters offer vignettes of a twelve day walk through the Bakhtiari Mountains as the Bakhtiaris migrated to their summer regions. The work is closer to a diary form than *Passenger*, and contains an appendix by Gladwyn Jebb explaining the routes taken and distances covered. Jebb was Nicolson's immediate junior at the legation.[86] It is a more challenging read than the 'pleasantly loquacious' *Passenger*, particularly in its tackling of the future of Persia.[87] The intentionally leisurely form of travel also encourages Sackville-West to indulge in philosophical discussions of whether a European could live the life of a nomad, and the work ends with a powerful vision of the modernity of Persia through the sight of the 'fantastic, the almost grotesque, scenery of the Persian oil-fields' of

[84] Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran* (London: L. & V. Woolf, 1926), (Harmondsworth, New York: Penguin Books, 1943).
[85] Suzanne Raitt, *Vita and Virginia: The work and friendship of V. Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); Karen Sproles, *Desiring Women: The partnership of Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
[86] Alan Campbell, 'Jebb, (Hubert Miles) Gladwyn, first Baron Gladwyn (1900–1996)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63251, accessed 15 March 2012]
[87] Kelley, 'Nooks and Corners,' 143.

Abadan. (122) Both works, therefore, point to the modernity of travel practices available at the end of the 1920s, either their through adoption or dismissal.

Through her primary career as a creative writer and the mass of family connections to Persia, Sackville-West's decision to write on her travels is unremarkable. By 1922, her biographer Victoria Glendinning argues, Sackville-West was 'an established author.'[88] For Glendinning in the 1980s, Sackville-West's reputation rested 'uneasily' on her 'traditional, anti-modernist' poetry; arguably more critical exegesis and popular attention is now directed towards her travelogues.[89] Unlike her 'traditional, anti-modernist' poetry, Sackville-West's travelogues are characterised by elisions and foreshortening, a modernist stream-of-consciousness narrative, and a literary rather than factual tone. In contrast with this modernist travel-writing, Sackville-West's family connections with elite British diplomats engaged in Anglo-Persian relations link her to the establishment. Sackville-West's mother Victoria was the illegitimate daughter of a Spanish dancer and Lionel Sackville-West, 2nd Baron Sackville, a story explored by Vita in her later life-writing.[90] Victoria became a resoundingly successful society hostess for her father in Washington in the 1880s. Amongst the twenty-five men whom Victoria later told her daughter had proposed to her were two of Lionel's secretaries: Charles Hardinge and Cecil Spring Rice.[91] The former became first secretary to the Legation at Teheran in 1896, and was later Viceroy of India.[92] His cousin, Arthur Henry Hardinge, was also a diplomatist, and published on his time in Persia in 1928.[93] Spring Rice was British Minister in Persia from 1906, and oversaw the Constitutionalists taking refuge in the Legation gardens, as discussed in Chapter 3. Sackville-West's probable knowledge of ongoing Anglo-Persian relations therefore sets her knowledge in contrast with the Bloomsbury group's supposed ignorance, which she satirically exposes in the epigraph to this section.

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[88] Victoria Glendinning, *Vita: The Life of V. Sackville-West* (1983; London: Phoenix, 2005) p.127
[89] Glendinning 117, xix.
[90] V. Sackville-West, *Pepita* (London: Hogarth Press, 1937).
[91] Glendinning 3.
[92] Katherine Prior, 'Hardinge, Charles, first Baron Hardinge of Penshurst (1858–1944)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33703, accessed 21 April 2011]
[93] Hardinge, Arthur H. *A Diplomatist in the East*. London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1928.
E. M. Lloyd, 'Hardinge, Sir Arthur Edward (1828–1892)', rev. James Falkner, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12267, accessed 21 April 2011]

In contrast to this political understanding of Persia, some critics argue that the imagined Orient had been for Sackville-West associated with performance and concealed sexuality. In 1913 in the Great Hall at her ancestral home Knole, 'Vita played the young Caliph with a blacked-up face in the "Persian Play"' while her close friend Rosamund Grosvenor played 'Zuleika, a dancing girl' and Violet Keppel, later Sackville-West's lover, played 'a slave girl.'[94] Barbara Fassler hypothesises that members of the Bloomsbury group were familiar with a theory that 'Greeks… Italians, French, Spaniards and Persians and other southern or oriental peoples were more strongly disposed to homosexuality than inhabitants of more northerly and westerly lands.'[95] Therefore, as Lawrence argues, 'the Orient functioned for Bloomsbury – and more generally in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century discourse – as a code for androgyny, bisexuality, and homosexuality.'[96] Such interpretations of Persia are not evident in other travelogues of the era, and cannot wholly explain Sackville-West's interest in Persia. These theories could explain Sackville-West's use of an androgynous narrative voice and her interest in Jane Dieulafoy who wore men's clothes. These sexuality focused interpretations, however, underestimate the mass of Sackville-West's biographical connections with Persia and their impact on her interpretation of the country.

Similarly, Sackville-West's husband Harold Nicolson had family connections with Persia prior to his appointment as counselor in the Teheran embassy in the autumn of 1925. His father was secretary to the British legation from 1885 to 1888,[97] and Nicolson was born there.[98] During his peripatetic childhood, Nicolson met the infamous explorer Sir Richard Burton, who greeted the child with the words 'Hello, little Tehran!'[99] Nicolson's uncle by marriage was Lord Dufferin, another exceptional diplomatist, who could converse in Persian with the Shah, and was viceroy of India

[94] Glendinning 53.
[95] Barbara Fassler, 'Theories of Homosexuality as Sources of Bloomsbury's Androgyny,' *Signs*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Winter, 1979), 237-251, pp.244-5.
[96] Karen R. Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: women and travel in the British literary tradition* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), p.187.
[97] Keith Neilson, 'Nicolson, Arthur, first Baron Carnock (1849–1928)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35238, accessed 21 April 2011
[98] T. G. Otte, 'Nicolson, Sir Harold George (1886–1968)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, October 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35239, accessed 21 April 2011]
[99] Norman Rose, *Harold Nicolson* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005), p.6.

from 1884 to 1888.[100] Nicolson was nicknamed by his father Hadji; Sackville-West herself later adopted this name for him too.[101] Shortly after their marriage Sackville-West conformed in accompanying Nicolson to his Constantinople posting, where they prepared a 'Persian room' for him, suggesting the appeal of the aesthetics of Persian decoration.[102] Later Sackville-West was to satirise their time in England during WWI: 'The correct and adoring young wife of the brilliant young diplomat came back to England… I was… thoroughly tamed… Oh god, the horror of it! I was so happy that I forgot even to suffer from *Wanderlust*.'[103] In this confessional memoir, only published after her death, *Wanderlust* is presented by Sackville-West as a symbol for emotional freedom and a questioning of her – at this stage still latent – sexuality. As Glendinning argues, Sackville-West creates within her 1919 novel *Heritage* an archetypal male figure, 'who was to reappear in almost all her fiction': 'Malory was the traveller with no dependents, no address; he was the man she would have liked to have been, and her ideal man, from her woman's point of view.'[104] One sees therefore that for Sackville-West travel was often conceptualised as a possible escape from British heteronormative society.

This conceptualization goes some way towards explaining Sackville-West's decision not to accompany Nicolson on his two year posting to Teheran in the autumn of 1925. If she had accompanied him she might have become again 'the correct and adoring… wife… thoroughly tamed.' Glendinning's sympathetic appraisal of Sackville-West's stance contrasts with Nicolson's biographers including Norman Rose, who accuses Sackville-West of making 'an empty pledge' that 'she would "always be ready to go to dinner parties if you want me to"' and 'thoughtlessly' wrote 'her own rules of the game.'[105] Nigel Nicolson, Vita and Harold's younger son, offers a balanced interpretation:

[100] Richard Davenport-Hines, 'Blackwood, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-, first marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1826–1902)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31914, accessed 21 April 2011] Harold later wrote *Helen's Tower* about his uncle (London: Constable & Co., 1937).
[101] Glendinning 87.
[102] Glendinning 70.
[103] Nigel Nicolson, *Portrait of a Marriage* (London: Orion Books, 2004), p.41.
[104] Glendinning 89. V. Sackville-West, *Heritage* (London: W. Collins Sons & Co., 1919).
[105] Rose, *Nicolson*, 46.

> She would visit him there, but she would not be lodged in a Legation compound as his *légitime*, and be made to sit at dinner-parties in her correct order of precedence with a white card beside her plate proclaiming her 'The Hon. Mrs Harold Nicolson', when she could be V. Sackville-West at Long Barn, with her writing, her garden and Virginia. This sounds selfish, but neither of them thought it so. She cared so deeply for her independence that for both of them it outweighed everything else, even their agony at being parted for months on end. There is no suggestion in their hundreds of letters that their misery could be ended at any moment by her joining him permanently in Teheran.[106]

While the established norms of correct wifely behaviour in the diplomatic sphere were still prevalent, therefore, Sackville-West was able to ignore them. Unlike women such as Ella Sykes and Ella Durand, Sackville-West was able to demonstrate a feminist independence in her travel practices. Curiously, when Sackville-West left for her first visit to Nicolson in January 1926, she took with her a number of items for the British Legation, fulfilling some normative role of house-keeping diplomat's wife: 'Harold had instructed her to bring lampshade, ashtrays, a tea-set and other English comforts for the rather bleak house in the British Legation compound at Teheran, where there was only an earth closet… and a tiny bath.'[107] Furthermore, Sackville-West accompanied Nicolson to the coronation of Reza Khan. There is, therefore, both in the circumstances of her travel and the travelogue itself a tension between marital conformity within the diplomatic sphere, and a rejection of all the limitations that would have placed upon her.

Nicolson's letters to Sackville-West since December 1925 had detailed his encounters with Reza Khan, later first Shah of the Pahlavi dynasty.[108] In the summer of 1926, immediately after Sackville-West's first visit to Persia, Nicolson acted as *chargé d'affaires* for five months before the arrival of Sir Robert Clive, and produced a lengthy and controversial report on Anglo-Persian relations. As Rose comments, this report 'examined the time-honoured axioms of British policy that saw Persia as a bastion of imperial strategy, defending India, pushing back the Soviet Union, maintaining primacy in the Gulf, and protecting, if necessary by force, the Anglo-Persian oilfields' and suggested that 'the moment had arrive to re-examine and reaffirm these truisms.'[109] The report, while concluding that Britain should maintain

[106] Nicolson, *Portrait*, 191.
[107] Glendinning 151.
[108] Nicolson, *Vita and Harold*, 133-4.
[109] Rose 146.

its current policy, was not warmly received, more on account of its style and 'its haughty and self-assured phrasing' than its contents: 'In the strait-laced atmosphere of the Foreign Office, such audacity was considered unbecoming for a mere *chargé d'affaires*.'[110] The insights into Anglo-Persian relations which her husband's work offered Sackville-West contributed to her travelogues to a degree which has hitherto been insufficiently recognised. Moreover, in Sackville-West's world Persia was a relatively familiar space, which had been experienced and transcribed by various relatives and associates for decades. Her decision to contribute to the heritage of British writing on Persia is arguably unsurprising. Her travelogue is set apart by her literary focus, and unusual decision to almost completely conceal her proximity to the diplomatic sphere and participation in the still tightly-knit group of travellers to Persia.

The travelogues are conventionally dedicated to Harold Nicolson, but his work is concealed in *Passenger*, as is the assistance Sackville-West would have received *en route* to Persia: 'Travelling was made relatively easy for her; as a diplomat's wife, she was looked after at every main stopping place by British Legation staff.'[111] James Lees-Milne notes furthermore that 'Vita studiously ignored mentioning the names of her husband and companions, or the people whom they met and who entertained them,' even as they joined amongst others 'Sir Percy [Loraine, the British minister to Persia], who was on a sort of state tour' of Persia.[112] This elision of her connection to the diplomatic world is one of many characteristic concealments. Similarly expunged from *Passenger* is Dorothy Wellesley, her travelling companion and erstwhile probable lover.[113] Sackville-West hints at companions through her regular use of the pronoun 'we', but throughout *Passenger* maintains this lack of specificity. In contrast, in *Twelve Days* all companions' names are given at the end of Chapter II. Similarly omitted from *Passenger* is any description of India, echoing Ella Sykes' silence on

[110] Rose, *Nicolson*, 147.
[111] Glendinning 154.
[112] James Lees-Milne, *Harold Nicolson: A biography, vol. 1* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1980), p.270.
[113] Vita Sackville-West, 'Wellesley , Dorothy Violet, duchess of Wellington (1889–1956)', rev. Clare L. Taylor, *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36826, accessed 15 March 2012]. Glendinning 129.

Quetta in her travelogue, as it was a place already well-known to her possible readers; yet Sackville-West had written to Woolf extensively on India.[114]

The purpose of these omissions and elisions is not clear. Sackville-West does not entirely disassociate herself from the diplomatic sphere through the paratexts of her travelogues if not the central content, and cannot therefore be simply read as rejecting any attachment to those networks. One might suggest that through a lack of specificity of companion and practicalities of her travel, she sought to create a timeless, ethereal work. This is perhaps particularly plausible in the case of the intentionally old-fashioned trek of *Twelve Days*, which contrasts with the cars and liners of *Passenger*. However the coronation of Reza Khan dates *Passenger* quite precisely to the spring of 1926. One must go further, therefore, and consider Sackville-West's travelogues as an example of increasingly personal yet not yet confessional travel-writing, in which the subjective experience of the individual takes prominence above objective analyses and factual detail. As this thesis has traced, travel-writing on Persia has rendered the country by that time so familiar that talented writers can create a work that exists for its own sake, and not for career gain, political worth or usefulness to others.

A recognition of subjectivity of a travelogue combines in Sackville-West's travelogues with the writer's need to transcribe the moment. As Joyce Kelley has noted, Sackville-West explains in *Twelve Days*: 'it is necessary to write, if the days are not to slip emptily by. How else, indeed, to clap the net over the butterfly of the moment? for the moment passes, it is forgotten; the mood is gone; life itself is gone.' (9) Sackville-West is all too aware, however, that recitation of one's travels can be tedious for others, as her provocative and entertaining opening of *Passenger* suggests: 'Travel is the most private of pleasures. There is no greater bore than the travel bore.' (9) Sackville-West thus challenges herself to present her experiences without being 'a bore', to convey travel in a radical and readable form, which matches the fascination of the experience. This is the motivation, as Joyce Kelley terms it, for the 'unusually free-flowing, experimental style. Her descriptions of the land around her and her

[114] *The Letters of Vita Sackville-West to Virginia Woolf*, ed. Louise DeSalvo and Mitchell Leaska (London: Virago, 1992), pp.111-115. Perhaps Sackville-West's prejudices dictated the omission: 'India is a loathsome place, without one shred of any quality, and I never want to go there again.' 20th February 1926, Sackville-West to Woolf, p.115.

reactions to it become modernist in her stream-of-consciousness approach or, to use Sackville-West's term, "mental pilgrimage" (*Passenger* 120).'[115] While the book originated as relief from the tedium of illness on a boat cruising past Baluchistan, and thus as 'an exercise in free-writing,' it was over the summer in England that the work was moulded as a whole into this modernist text.[116] Kelley also supports this thesis' supposition that the imagination and creativity is key to Sackville-West's work: 'Sackville-West champions imaginative construction, noting that there is no necessary "truth" in an outsider's first-hand observations. Indeed, she acknowledges that the excitement of the journey stems from her own imagination.'[117] While much of her work considers the connections between Sackville-West and Woolf, Kelley does offer conclusive remarks on the nature of *Passenger*, which she describes as 'essentially modernist in nature, moving away from the limitations of literary realism by exploring the landscapes of the mind… its unique engagement with a subjective experience of travel and its modernist style, which is as exploratory as one of Woolf's own novels.'[118] The travelogues can therefore be appreciated for their immense contribution to the genre of travel-writing on Persia in terms of literary style, and brave departures from pre-modernist travelogues; another such break with tradition appears in Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana* (see Chapter 5). One notes, however, that similar developments had been attempted by her predecessors: Moore addresses the question of the personal nature of travelogues and elided memoires; and Fowle is aware of the subjectivity of his narration.

In contrast with critical exegesis which has focused on the literary style of Sackville-West's work, Urmila Seshagiri has discussed *Passenger* in terms of its 'complex literary geography that simultaneously contests and affirms imperialist values.'[119] Seshagiri considers the 'long over-looked racial politics' of Sackville-West's writing, and their contribution to *Orlando*. Seshagiri notes that 'Iran was never an official British colony; however, British economic, military, and political control in Iran made

[115] Joyce Kelley, '"Nooks and Corners Which I Enjoy Exploring": Investigating the relationship between Vita Sackville-West's travel narratives and Woolf's writing,' *Woolf and the Art of Exploration: Selected Papers from the Fifteenth International Conference on Virginia Woolf*, ed. Helen Southworth and Elisa Kay Sparks (Clemson, S. C.: Clemson University Digital Press), pp.140-9, 143.
[116] Ibid, 143.
[117] Ibid, 144.
[118] Ibid, 147.
[119] Urmila Seshagiri, *Race and the Modernist Imagination* (Ithaca, N.Y., London: Cornell University Press, 2010) p.149.

it a virtual possession of the empire.'[120] Seshagiri's conclusion overstates Britain's hold over Iran in the late 1920s, particularly in the light of the rise to power of Reza Khan, whom Britain had tangentially assisted on the basis that he would not usurp the Shah, which he went on to do. Seshagiri does not distinguish between imperial 'control' and imperialist attitudes, and this subtle distinction is central to an understanding of British travel-writing on Persia, a space viewed as liminal to the British strongholds of India and, in the aftermath of WWI, Iraq. I agree to some extent with Seshagiri that Sackville-West 'ignores the material presence of the British Empire and her connection to it' in that she makes little reference to her husband's work and avoids the British Legation as far as possible; but the 'British Empire' does not encompass Persia, but surrounds it and influences the attitudes of the Britons therein.[121] Furthermore, Sackville-West's obscuring of her connection is part of her attempt to create a travelogue that breaks that mould of British travel-writing on Persia, seeing the space in imaginative terms rather than political, despite her familiarity with recent Anglo-Persian interactions. Downplaying her reliance on her husband's career for her actual presence in Persia is part of Sackville-West's feminism. Seshagiri's emphasis on the racial politics of Sackville-West's letters to Woolf and *Passenger* serves her project of 'Orienting Virginia Woolf', but does a disservice to the travelogue itself.

Seshagiri also argues that 'the underlying principle of Vita Sackville-West's *Passenger to Teheran* is an epistemological confidence that foreign territories and peoples can *be known* by English readers.'[122] On the contrary, Sackville-West's work emphasises the impressionistic and subjective in her descriptions, rather than quantifiable, empirical and objective, which were the focus of writers such as Curzon. Moreover, Sackville-West denies language's power to adequately convey one's experiences: 'At one moment it seems that there is nothing… that may not be expressed in words, down to the finest hair-stroke of a Proust or a Henry James; next moment we recognise in despair, so poor is our self-imposed vehicle, our incapacity truly to communicate to one another the simplest experience of our factual or emotional life.' (15-6) In the midst of a travelogue this would seem to undermine any

[120] Ibid, 169.
[121] Ibid, 174.
[122] Ibid, 168.

confidence that another country can be 'known', transcribed in a travelogue and taught to English readers. Moreover, one might interpret Sackville-West's stance as implicit reaction against her husband's late superior, Curzon, and his text on Persia, which is cited in the bibliography to *Twelve Days*. Sackville-West accepts the limitations of language to express 'things felt and things seen.' (16) Furthermore, she writes: 'What is more odious that the informative book of travel? unless, indeed, it sets out to be frankly so, in which case it enters into a different category, and must become, in the language of reviewers, "monumental", "scholarly", "a fine tribute to the history and genius of the… nation".' (21) Such adjectives recall (positive) reviews of Curzon's work and later travellers' responses to him, and Sackville-West thus establishes a dichotomy between her own work and Curzon's 'epistemological confidence' that Persia can and should be known to Britain for the benefit of the British Empire. Moreover, India – part of the formal Empire – is elided by Sackville-West ostensibly because it is 'too vast, too diverse to be grasped as a whole, therefore only details emerge.' (50) One can note also Sackville-West's presentation of the instability of Britain as much as Persia in the imagination: 'It is almost as hard, in Persia, to believe in the existence of England, as it is, in England, to believe in the existence of Persia' and 'the life of England falls away, or remains only as an image seen in an enchanted mirror.' (87 and 106) These moments counteract Seshagiri's critique of Sackville-West's 'final evocation of Persia – just a name on an official customs label – [which] shifts Persia's ontological status, making it less real than the England to which Sackville-West has returned.'[123] Arguably Sackville-West presents instead the transience of memories and the fallibility of language to capture experience, which renders Persia irretrievable to the returned traveller. Sackville-West's responses to India and Persia deny that foreign territories can be known, or at least, that the travelogue is an appropriate place to try to demonstrate such attempts at knowledge.

Seshagiri also interprets Sackville-West's attitude towards Persian landscapes as colonial in attitude. While highlighting Sackville-West's representation of 'Persia's natural beauty as a partial corrective to Western civilization's flaws,' Seshagiri accurately notes that for Sackville-West 'the Persian landscape promises unspoiled

[123] Ibid, 177.

remedy for the travails of modernity.'[124] This echoes Forbes-Leith's discussion of nomadic lifestyle in his work. Seshagiri goes too far, however, in interpreting the strength of British influence over Persia. She writes: 'That the countryside falls under imperial control does not enter her discussion; her freedom to avoid imperialism's most visible effects and turn instead to natural beauty is itself an exercise in colonial power.'[125] Instead, one might interpret Sackville-West's reaction to rural spaces in Persia quite differently, but to do this one must consider *Twelve Days*, which Seshagiri problematically does not cite in her bibliography.

This omission is a common one, and needs to be remedied, not least because *Twelve Days* is in some ways the more interesting work. In *Twelve Days* Sackville-West emphasises her dislocation from Britain and her immersion in lesser known parts of Persia, thus satisfying a longing of the previous year expressed in *Passenger*. (122) The main Teheran-Shiraz road 'was not sufficiently remote to satisfy my geographical romanticism': indeed Sackville-West wishes to be 'where no white man has ever been before, far from any place that has ever been heard of. The globe is too small and too well mapped, and the cinema too active.' (26-7) One can reiterate the substantial and increasing body of British writing on Persia, as well as travel films, which have diminished the landscape's ability to offer ground-breaking exploration to the western traveller.

Twelve Days utilises a wider variety of tone than *Passenger*. There are moments of great humour, for example the note on Harold's servant 'Bagh'er… whose name, unless very carefully pronounced, had been apt to arouse horror and dismay among members of the British colony in Teheran.' (31) The work is more obviously populated than *Passenger*, with descriptions of walking with Nicolson, and Copley Amory with 'notebook in hand – what was in that notebook?' (116) Amory published his own brief travelogue *Persian Days* in 1928, which conversely makes no mention of Sackville-West or Nicolson. In *Twelve Days* Sackville-West also speculates philosophically on life in the hills of southern Persia. In Chapter XV she contemplates life at Qaleh Madrasseh for thirty years, and the possible respite such isolation could offer from western modernity. Chapter XIX opens with an epigraph from Plato's

[124] Ibid, 172.
[125] Ibid, 173.

Republic, and pontificates on the necessary improvements in agriculture, education, infrastructure and health-care required in Persia. Perhaps the movement between these various moods, and particularly the analysis of Persia's necessary reforms, renders the work less obviously engaging than *Passenger*.

Twelve Days also ends on a less settling note than the milder *Passenger*, which returns full-circle to the landscape of Sackville-West's Kent. After their trek through the hills of southern Persia, then filled with migrating Bakhtiari tribes, Sackville-West and her companions arrive at the oil-fields of Abadan. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company has been a subtle presence in the text prior to this face-to-face meeting: it provided six of the thirty-two photographs of *Twelve Days*. (viii) It also provides free medical support to the nomads who can travel as far as the oil-fields, and the Il-Khani who has been visiting the oil-fields is brought to the Europeans' camp in a company car: 'Civilization and the wild were meeting.' (93 and 117) The sight of the oil-fields after 'contact with life reduced to its simplest elements' provides a 'contrast so great as to produce an almost physical shock.' The oil-fields are 'a hell of civilisation,' 'a nightmare world,' and offer 'fantastic… almost grotesque scenery.' (121-2) Sackville-West resents APOC for desecrating the landscape: 'because fish had rotted miles beneath the surface the enterprise of the men of another continent had transfigured the landscape and forced it – how violently! – into another character.' (129) This response is problematic, desiring the preservation of an un-modernised Persia for the sake of European escapism. These scenes and Sackville-West's response also represent, however, the necessity for a profound shift in European responses to the aesthetics of Persian landscape in the south, from Layard's understanding of the 'inviolate' south, to a response to Persia which acknowledges its right to economic development. Only tentatively does Sackville-West reconcile the ancient and the modern, as 'the remembered solitudes of the Bakhtiari mountains rose up and swelled together with the energy of the oil-field into a vast, significant, and, as it were, symbolic symphony.' (130) This statement concludes her penultimate chapter, and in a temporal and geographic digression, her final chapter considers Persepolis, 'the representation neither of an anachronistic existence nor of a modern civilisation.' (131) The ruins of that ancient empire are intended by Sackville-West to show 'what becomes of empires as arrogant as the British.' (131) Following meanderings which

take in Palmyra and Baalbec (in modern-day Syria and Lebanon respectively), Sackville-West concludes with speculation about the transience of empires:

> It seems not irrelevant to wonder whether in the course of centuries the Anglo-Persian oil-fields may not revert to the solitudes of the Bakhtiari hills, while London, Paris, and New York lie with the wild flowers blowing over their stones, and fields of corn bend to the breeze for the bread of the population in some distant capital whose name we do not yet know. (137)

This is a particularly uncertain conclusion to a travelogue, implicitly doubting the future of the work, when civilisations themselves may fall. *Twelve Days* is, perhaps, a less read work than *Passenger* because of the depth of the engagement with anxieties about the modern world, the decline of empires, and the transience of human impact. This analysis has sought to demonstrate, however, that there is much that is gripping and thought-provoking within it, and that its literariness is sometimes equal to that of *Passenger*, if not superior. *Twelve Days* is described by Glendinning as containing 'some of her best writing'[126] and Nigel Nicolson concurs: 'in my opinion, the best of all her prose.'[127]

The Times Literary Supplement's review was critical, describing the book as 'mainly a record of personal discomforts, incidents, reflections and speculations.' On Sackville-West's thoughts for the future of Persia, the reviewer writes: 'It is perhaps ungrateful to call down Pegasus from his airy and graceful flights, but it can hardly be said that these remarks are very convincing.' Having demolished all of her ideas, the review concludes: 'The illustrations, photographs of the country, are excellent; but there is no map.'[128] Woolf sympathetically excoriated this review, saying in a letter sent the day it appeared: 'Talking of idiotic reviews, yours in the Lit. Sup. today was the limit – some poor wretch who had mugged up a little history and wanted to show off.'[129] One wonders whether Sackville-West's gender in the eyes of the reviewer rendered her political commentary 'unconvincing.'

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[126] Glendinning 174.
[127] Nigel Nicolson, "Foreword", *Vita Sackville-West: A Bibliography*, Robert Cross and Ann Ravenscroft-Hulme (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1999), p.viii.
[128] *The Times Literary Supplement*, October 25, 1928, No. 1,395, p.770.
[129] 1947: Thursday [25 October 1928], in *The Letters of Virginia Woolf, Vol. 3: A change of perspective*, ed. Nigel Nicolson, (London: Hogarth Press, 1977), p.551.

In contrast, initial responses to *Passenger* were extremely positive, not least from Nicolson and Woolf. In his letter of 1st October 1926, Nicolson states the book is '*absolutely first class*.' He compares the structure and clarity of narrator's voice presenting Persia with Roger Fry elucidating coins or cameos in a museum, and adds: 'I don't quite know how you have achieved this effect, but it is very striking: it makes the book wholly different from other travel books: it gives it a psychological interest far above the Cook's tourist part.' He adds: 'It makes all the other travel books I have read look just like coloured picture-post-cards.' He too, like later critics, notes the foreshortening: 'India in one page – five pages to little Dilijan! *That's* the way to do it!' Nicolson goes on to criticise her typographical mistakes as well as her claim to have recited a verse of Hafiz in a Polish village, but concludes: 'It is a splendid lovely book; it has given me such an up on life.'[130] Similarly, Woolf concluded that the work was 'awfully good.' She concedes that she didn't know 'the extent' of Sackville-West's 'subtleties', and enjoyed exploring the 'nooks and corners' of the book, which retains '(I daresay in haste) one or two dangling dim places.' Noting that travel was 'the very subject' for Sackville-West, Woolf has come to realise 'what a great affair going to Persia is.'[131] One sees, therefore, a contrast between the Bloomsbury dinner of December 1925 at which Vita was horrified at the ignorance of her fellow diners, and the Woolf of 1926 who has read *Passenger*. Woolf's interest in the work was not simply personal, as the Hogarth Press Woolf ran with her husband Leonard published *Passenger*, and her later letters note its strong sales.[132] *The Times Literary Supplement* reviewed *Passenger* warmly, saying 'the author does nothing but delight the reader with an almost undated diary of experiences and adventures, in which she turns aside repeatedly into byways of allusion and enriches the narrative with refreshing expressions of opinion on every view or subject which presents itself.'[133] Percy Sykes too thought the book impressive, saying 'the author possesses remarkable gifts of observation and description.' While admiring in particular her depictions of Teheran and Isfahan, he notes with the weary caution of a cartographer: 'The illustrations are

[130] Nicolson, *Harold and Vita*, pp.163-5.
[131] Woolf, *Letters*, Vol. 3, 1670: September 15th [1926], p.290-1.
[132] Woolf, *Letters*, Vol. 3: 1694: Friday [17 December 1926], p.308; and 1718: Friday, 18th February 1927 / Monday, Feb. 21st / Wednesday [as postscript]: 'P. To T. has sold 915.' p.334.
[133] Anonymous review of *Passenger to Teheran*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, November 4, 1926, p.758.

good, but it is a pity that there is no map.'[134] Incidentally, archive material demonstrates the explorer's unfamiliarity with popular novelists: he wrote to the Royal Geographical Society some months later that 'I hear that V. Sackville-West is Honourable Mrs Harold Nicolson. You might perhaps show this in the review. I naturally assumed that it was her sister.'[135]

4.5 Conclusion

The memoirs of British soldiers who worked in Persia during the Great War are a backwater of WWI life-writing; their actions contributed less to the eventual outcome of the war, and offered few examples of heroism. In terms of British writing on Persia from 1890 to 1940, the texts are striking for the often pejorative attitude towards Persia expressed by the writers, and the depictions of a clash between western-brought modernity and tradition in Persia. Similarly, Forbes-Leith's text is plagued by patronising attitudes of his time, but offers an intriguing snapshot of travel practices in the 1920s. Unlike these men's works, Sackville-West's travelogues are both regularly reprinted. To explain *Passenger*'s enduring popularity and the breadth of critical exegesis undertaken on it, one must return to its key characteristics: a modernist stream-of-consciousness style, offering impressionistic scenes; a focus on the personal experience rather than empirical exegesis, yet the personality and motivations of the author remain obscured; and above all, the sustained exquisite writing style. Returning to the primary distinction between Sackville-West and earlier writers considered within this thesis, one recalls that above all, Sackville-West was a writer who happened to travel, rather than a traveller who happened to write. This perhaps explains why a contemporary fellow writer recognised the potential for extensive exegesis of the volume shortly after its publication. Woolf wrote in 1927: 'following your orders (P to T) I read it so as to elicit every grain, and could write an exposition of its meanings and submeanings in 20 volumes.'[136] No longer is the content of a travelogue the most important aspect to be analysed, corrected or revised; but the form and style of the book provide an avenue for further exploration. This

[134] *The Geographical Journal*, Percy Sykes reviews *Passenger to Teheran*, Vol. 69, No. 4 (Apr., 1927), p.358.
[135] Percy Sykes, letter dated 14/XII/1927, from Correspondence block 1921-1930, Royal Geographical Society Archives, RGS, London.
[136] Woolf, *Letters*, Vol. 3, 1722: Sunday, Feb. 28th 1927 / [then Wednesday], pp.228-9.

literary analysis of travelogues on Persia is central to one's appreciation of the two works from the 1930s which the following chapter explores: the highly renowned *The Valleys of the Assassins* by Freya Stark, and Robert Byron's masterpiece, *The Road to Oxiana.*

Chapter 5: Archaeology, Architecture and Iran: The Apogee of British Travel-writing on Persia, 1930-1940

5.1 Introduction

Oriental countries no longer are to us such a remote and different world that the reader, whether casual or interested, is content to gobble up any information about it, set down in black and white: nowadays even true facts have to be presented in an attractive form.
A present day writer of travel-books who wants to hold our attention must be thoroughly alive to the fact that present-day readers of travel-books are becoming more and more fastidious.[1]

Freya Stark's *The Valleys of the Assassins and Other Persian Travels* (1934) and Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana* (1937) are two of the most popular and renowned British travelogues of the twentieth century. They have rarely, however, been subject to sustained comparative analysis despite the shared destination and proximity of their date of publication. Such analysis sheds light on British perceptions of Persia as Reza Shah undertook new reforms in the 1930s. Stark and Byron's texts have not been considered in the light of the travelogues of their predecessors, which would have informed their travel practices, writing styles, and understanding of the country. Stark's *Valleys* was the first major piece of published writing of her lengthy career; Byron's *Oxiana* was his last before his death during WWII. Stark presents areas of Persia as the main goal of her travels; Byron strives in vain to reach the Oxus in Afghanistan. Stark's deft writing extends a few days of travel into a thought-provoking and absorbing adventure story. Byron's text is an energetic *tour de force* of varied writing styles including diary entry, supposedly transcribed conversations, copies of letters, straightforward descriptions of travel, and architectural analysis. As the epigraph to this chapter suggests, and as the broad evolution of the genre has thus far implied, writing style was increasingly a primary focus in creation and reviews of travel-writing. In part, it is the quality of the writing that has ensured the ongoing fascination with these texts. Byron's *Oxiana* in particular is, as William Dalrymple notes, 'widely recognised as the greatest of all pre-war travel books.'[2] The texts also share an interest in the ancient relics Persia offered: Stark sought treasure, assassins'

[1] M. H. Braaksma, *Travel and Literature: An attempt at a literary appreciation of English travel-books about Persia, from the Middle Ages to the present day (*Groningen, Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1938), p.94.
[2] William Dalrymple, 'The Road to Inspiration,' Guardian online, http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2003/nov/08/featuresreviews.guardianreview5, accessed 23 June 2011.

fortresses, and ancient skulls, while Byron hunted the origins of Persian Islamic architecture. This interest in Persian architecture and art reflects a bourgeoning fascination at home, exemplified by the major exhibition of Persian art at the Royal Academy in 1931.

Stark and Byron travelled to Persia during a period of relative stability in Anglo-Persian relations, and within Persia itself. Shah Pahlavi undertook a system of extensive reforms, including the substantial development of the road network, the abolition of the veil for women in 1936, and the request in 1935 that henceforth the country should be known internationally as Iran, as it had always been known internally.[3] The pace of change was an additional attraction for the European traveller, as the Preface to a 1938 travelogue suggests:

> Modern Iran is the creation of a single man, His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, and the work has been accomplished in an incredibly short space of time. Iranian art, Iranian literature, Iranian landscape and Iranian character have always held an irresistible fascination for the art-lover, the scholar and the traveller; to add to them the story of Reza Shah's dramatic rise to power, and the remarkable transformation that has come over Iranian national life today under his galvanic rule constitute an intensely interesting phase of contemporary history.[4]

Furthermore, according to Kamyar Abdi, 'Reza Shah's career directly affected the development of archaeology in Iran.'[5] The Society of National Heritage, founded in 1922, sought to 'to enhance public interest in ancient knowledge and crafts; and to preserve antiquities and handicrafts and their ancient techniques.'[6] The Society aimed to build a museum and library in Tehran (which opened in 1937), and catalogue those remains and antiquities in the 'possession of the government and national organizations.'[7] Furthermore, Abdi argues that the American archaeologist Arthur Upham Pope's 1925 talk, 'The Art of Iran in the Past and the Future,' made a 'a deep and lasting impression' on Reza Shah, imbuing him with a sense of the importance of these ancient sites for a nationalist identity.[8] Pope 'emphasized that kings of Iran have always served as patrons of arts and crafts, and implied that a cultural and artistic

[3] Fromkin 460.
[4] Mirza M. Ismail, 'Foreword' to A. M. Moulvi's *Modern Iran* (Bombay: Saif Azad, 1938).
[5] Kamyar Abdi, 'Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 105, No. 1 (Jan., 2001), 51-76, p.58.
[6] Ibid 56.
[7] Ibid 59, 56.
[8] Ibid 60.

revival in Iran required government endorsement and encouragement.'[9] *Arthur Pope and a New Survey of Persian Art* is a forthcoming work in the Studies in Persian Cultural History series and due for publication in early 2013 by Brill. Lindsay Allen's chapter, 'Arthur Upham Pope and Persepolis,' explores Pope's private correspondence of the early 1930s; his interaction with his rival Ernst Herzfeld who excavated Persepolis; and 'Pope's active involvement in the marketing and sale of individual pre-Islamic antiquities.' Allen also considers the perception of 'the wild landscape of Luristan' as 'the imaginary locus of a noble and creative race of pre-Achaemenid "horse-riding aristocrats"' whose graves Stark sought.[10] The work as a whole will shed light Pope's career as well as the broader competitive field of European and American archaeological work in Persia. After witnessing the results of 'crude archaeological activities at [Susa] by the French and the Concessions of 1895 and 1900' Reza Shah cancelled the French archaeological concessions in 1927.[11] This opened Iran's ancient sites to international teams of archaeologists, and the German Ernst Herzfeld was one of those to work at Persepolis, where he met Byron in an explosive encounter described in *The Road to Oxiana*. Pope published the monumental *A Survey of Persian Art* in the late 1930s.[12]

Beyond archaeological studies, contemporary knowledge of Persia was catalogued in a *Bibliography of Persia* by Sir Arnold Wilson, whose career had been based in Persia and the broader Middle East, as well as a period as 'resident director in Persia of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.'[13] Similarly, in his work *Persia*, written for The Modern World series, he attempts to 'throw some light not on the history of Persia, nor on the characteristics of the country as it was twenty or even ten years ago, but as it is to-day.'[14] This is a response to the lacuna he perceives: 'the number of books on Persia in the principal languages of Europe published in the last ten years is smaller than in any previous decade since the 'eighties, and of these not more than half a score deal

[9] Ibid 60.
[10] Dr Lindsay Allen, email 10 May 2012,and draft of chapter 'Arthur Upham Pope and Persepolis,' due for publication in *Arthur Pope and a New Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Y. Kadoi (Brill, 2013).
[11] Ibid 58-9.
[12] A. Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds. *A Survey of Persian Art from prehistoric times to the present. 7 vol.* (Oxford: OUP, 1938-9).
[13] Robert Pearce, 'Wilson, Sir Arnold Talbot (1884–1940)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004; online edn, January 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36944, accessed 12 July 2011] Arnold Wilson, *A Bibliography of Persia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930).
[14] Sir Arnold Talbot Wilson, *Persia* (London: Ernest Benn, 1932), p.vii.

primarily with modern Persia.'[15] In both works Wilson cites Curzon's condemnation 'of those who "either not having read what has been written by better men before, or, reading it only in order to plagiarize and reproduce it as their own, misunderstand, misspell and misinterpret everywhere they go."'[16] Wilson's works imply a desire for a consolidation and cataloguing of knowledge of Persia in the 1930s.

Another example of this analytical turn, which also points to the reception and utilisation of many of the travelogues considered within this thesis, is a catalogue of the Library at the British Legation in Tehran, compiled by Herbert Lacy Baggallay, dated January 1st 1935.[17] The catalogue offers a snapshot of the variety of works collected by diplomats and travellers who resided in the Legation, and reiterates the literariness of travel to Persia. From Xenophon to Morier to Curzon, Sykes and many other familiar names, residents of the Legation were welcomed with an array of travel texts which might influence their interpretation of or responses to Persia, as well as a selection of fictional and reference works. While Baggallay dates the library to Malcolm's time as first envoy to the Persian court from 1800, he concedes there are no works inscribed with his name. Gore Ouseley left one; James Morier three; and Henry Rawlinson 'a great many books on travel and history, including a collection of works on the Indian Mutiny.'[18] Later collections were left by Sir Ronald Thomson, Minister from 1894 to 1887 and Sir Mortimer Durand, the Sykes siblings' host during his tenure as Minister from 1894 to 1900.[19] At a remove also Curzon contributed to the library, through his establishment of the 'Far Eastern Libraries Fund' from which even in the 1930s 'books are still regularly supplied to the Legation by the Library of the Foreign Office.'[20] Baggallay notes that the section on Persia itself 'is fairly comprehensive and though there are some important gaps it can be said that almost every writer of importance, from Herodotus and Xenophon to Arnold Wilson and Freya Stark, is represented by at least one of his works.'[21] Given Baggallay compiled this list prior to his departure from Teheran in May 1935, Stark's *The Valleys of the*

[15] Wilson, *Persia*, viii.
[16] Wilson, *Persia*, viii. Wilson, *Bibliography*, vi.
[17] Herbert Lacy Baggallay, ed., *Catalogue of the Library of His Majesty's Legation at Tehran* (Great Britain: Embassy (Iran), 1935). See Appendix A for more details.
[18] Baggallay 1-2.
[19] Baggallay 2.
[20] Baggallay 2.
[21] Baggallay 3.

Assassins must have been received extremely promptly after publication. Baggallay concedes that 'collectively they are perhaps of value not so much for themselves as for their historical associations and for the light they throw on the taste of those who came to Persia in the early days, when Tehran lay at the end of a long and difficult journey and a book of any kind was a treasured possession.'[22]

Travelogues on Persia were for the first time also collectively analysed by a literary scholar, Dr M. H. Braaksma, who attempted in 1938 'a literary appreciation of English travel-books about Persia, from the middle ages to the present day.'[23] Braaksma's text opens with John Mandeville, and considers also Thomas Herbert, Layard, Morier, Gertrude Bell, Browne, and a selection of post-war travellers including Byron and Stark. Braaksma finds nothing in the two centuries preceding 1914 to equal the works of travellers to other areas of the Middle East:

> If we take the beginning of the world-war as a time-limit, and we have good reasons for doing so… it is next to impossible to point to any single travel-book on Persia written in the two centuries preceding it whose qualities are so superior as to set it up as a standard by which we can measure the qualities, good and bad, of the rest. The truth is that Persian-travel-literature during the period under criticism has no work to show that marks itself off either by graphic description or fascination of style. There are tiresome and downright bad works galore, a not too small percentage may be classed as average, but there is none whose merit remotely approaches that of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*, though a few would bear comparison with Kinglake's much overpraised *Eothen.*[24]

Braaksma's criticism is witty and striking, but as this thesis has hopefully demonstrated, there is a good deal more to British travel-writing on Persia prior to WWI than 'tiresome and downright bad' and 'average' works. Furthermore, in his analysis of Bell and Browne, Braaksma praises many qualities of their works. Arguably, however, works of travel literature on Persia, masterpieces of literary style, only emerged in the 1930s in the form of Byron and Stark's works; but even here Braaksma is not convinced. He labels Stark's combination of 'the most dreary historical and topographical detail' and adventure 'unpleasantly amphibious': 'One wonders if Miss Stark should not rather have written a plain, straightforward tale of

[22] Baggallay 4.
[23] M. H. Braaksma, *Travel and Literature: An attempt at a literary appreciation of English travel-books about Persia, from the Middle ages to the present day* (Groningen, Batavia: J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1938).
[24] Ibid 71-2.

facts and events and not have tried to be entertaining; or else a frankly entertaining, unscholarly travel-book.'[25] He damningly concludes: 'General reader and scholar alike will feel disappointed after finishing *The Valleys of the Assassins*.'[26] In contrast, Byron is praised for keeping his reader always interested, despite occasionally committing 'the same mistake of tendering us the stones of dry factual information for the bread of intelligent understanding.' Braaksma hypothesises that the attraction of Byron's work above Stark's, is 'perhaps because his hobby is architecture, and the layman is sooner interested in architecture than in topography. Undoubtedly his style is infinitely more lively than Miss Stark's even when he is talking on more or less technical subjects.'[27] Braaksma notes that Byron's writing is sometimes at its best when speaking of 'technical subjects,' and quotes the description of Gumbad-i-Kabus which begins 'A tapering cylinder of café-au-lait brick…'. Braaksma praises 'the excellent qualities of this little masterpiece of descriptive art' and engages in close analysis of the construction of the description. He also believes, however, that *Oxiana* is 'of very unequal value. Passages like the one quoted above alternate with paragraphs that are no sooner read than forgotten.'[28] Many later readers have not concurred with Braaksma's conclusions. Moreover, his brief analysis of Stark and Byron lacks biographical details on the pair and fails to draw links between these works and their recent predecessors, as this thesis shall do.

5.2 The 1931 Exhibition of Persian Art

> *The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art, the brainchild of Arthur Upham Pope, was a grand extravaganza that brought Persian art to the forefront of public awareness. For a brief, intense period, all London was abuzz at the delirious enjoyment of the riot of "pure form" to be found at Burlington House.*[29]

As Barry Wood makes clear, the 1931 Exhibition of Persian Art in London had a substantial impact on conceptions of the origins and innate qualities of Persian Art. As a single event, the exhibition probably had the greatest impact on British

[25] Ibid 95.
[26] Ibid 96.
[27] Ibid 96.
[28] Ibid 96-7.
[29] Barry D. Wood, '"A Great Symphony of Pure Form": The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence,' *Ars Orientalis*, 'Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and perceptions of Islamic Art,' guest editor Linda Komaroff, Vol. XXX (2000), 113-130, p.113.

perceptions of Persia since the large meeting the Persia Committee held in the Opera House in 1912. Arnold Wilson stressed in the *Illustrated Souvenir* of the exhibition the comparative stability of Persia, quite unlike those revolutionary years which prompted the Opera House meeting: 'at no time in the last three centuries has Persia been so strong, so prosperous, so secure and so tranquil as she has become during the last few years under the compelling genius of Rizā Shāh Pahlavi.'[30] The Shah cooperated with the exhibition, sending important exhibits. The scholar of Islamic art B. W. Robinson notes: 'the Gulistan Palace Library in Tehran, and the library of the Mashhad Shrine… had been encouraged (to use no stronger term) by the Shah himself to yield up their treasures.'[31] The exhibition also drew on the collections of various wealthy independent collectors including Alfred Chester Beatty, who lent 'the richest contribution' of Persian miniatures, and M. Cartier. Loans were also received from the Turkish and Egyptian Governments, the British Museum, 'the Bodleian Library, the Libraries of Edinburgh University, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the India Office' and many other institutions.[32]

The exhibition was 'one of a series of large, thematically organized exhibitions held at the Royal Academy… in the late 1920s and early 1930s' including exhibitions of Dutch, Flemish and Italian art.[33] It also followed exhibitions of Persian art held by the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris in 1903 and 1907; and 'the remarkable exhibition of Islamic art at Munich, organized by Professor Sarre of Berlin and Dr. Martin of Stockholm' in 1910.[34] The British Museum also held a temporary exhibition of casts from Persepolis in 1931.[35] Alongside Pope, organisers included most of the Persophiles of the day: Ernst Herzfeld, A. V. Williams Jackson, Arnold Wilson, Hugh Bell (Gertrude Bell's father), F. B. Bradley-Birt, Percy Cox, Basil Gray, Wolseley

[30] *Persian Art: An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House London 1931* (Hudson and Kearns, 1931), p.xiii. Henceforth *Souvenir*.
[31] B. W. Robinson, 'The Burlington House Exhibition of 1931: A Milestone in Islamic Art History,' *Discovering Islamic Art*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999), pp.147-155, 149.
[32] 'The diversity and extent of the work may be gathered from the fact that it has involved negotiations, in over thirty different countries, with some hundred different museums and libraries and over 300 private individuals, who have lent over 2,000 separate items, many of immense value, requiring elaborate arrangements for packing, transport and insurance.' Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting: Including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House, January-March, 1931* (London: OUP, 1933), p.1.
[33] Wood 115.
[34] Binyon *et al.*, 'Preface,' v.
[35] British Museum. *Photographs of casts of Persian sculptures of the Achaemenid period, mostly from Persepolis: twelve plates.* Dept. of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1932).

Haig, Arthur Hardinge, Percy Loraine, Denison Ross, Percy Sykes, C. Tattersall and the Marquess of Zetland, Lawrence Dundas, who was also Curzon's first biographer two years after Curzon's death.[36] Robinson has written on his experience of attending the exhibition with Percy Sykes, by then in his mid-sixties, and donor to the exhibition:

> He gave me a continuous running commentary in a rather loud voice, with the result that we soon found ourselves surrounded by quite a little crowd, by which we were accompanied through each gallery to the end of the exhibition. It was not a little embarrassing. As we left the exhibition, he said to me, 'I wanted to give these people the benefit of my special knowledge.'[37]

Incidentally, Robinson also knew Ella: Robinson's mother had taken her son 'to call on the secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Miss Ella Sykes, who thereafter sent Robbie a book every Christmas. One of them – *A Persian Caravan*, by A. Cecil Edwards – he would continue to re-read, with great enjoyment, for the rest of his life.'[38]

Wood suggests the works gathered at Burlington House had 'an estimated value of $10 million' and notes the 'spectacle cost $50,000 just to assemble.'[39] Indicative of the 'full-fledged modern media blitz' which accompanied the exhibition,[40] the Illustrated Souvenir thanks 'the British Broadcasting Corporation, who have arranged a series of talks on the Exhibition; and… the Underground and Southern railways for free displays of our posters.'[41] Moreover *The Times* of London printed a 'Persian Art Number' (5th January 1931); the *New York Times* reported on the exhibition; and *Punch* printed at least three cartoons on it in January 1931.[42] This was an international, modern and momentous exhibition, with 259,000 visitors over the three

[36] *Souvenir* x-xii.
[37] Robinson 147.
[38] 'B. W. Robinson,' http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1506825/B-W-Robinson.html, accessed 24 March 2010.
[39] Wood 115.
[40] Wood 115.
[41] *Souvenir* xiv.
[42] See Wood for images. See also *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, January, February and March 1931.

month run.[43] Wood states 'London really was in the grip of a "Persian cult" for at least the period of the Persian Exhibition.'[44]

The exhibits included all manner of Persian artistic production, 'Metals and Sculptures,' 'Miniatures,' 'Ceramics,' and 'Textiles.' The exhibition even included 'the original manuscript of Omar Khayyām's *Rubā'iyāt*… complete with Fitzgerald's own handwritten annotations.'[45] As Wood has noted, however, rather than create 'the definitive "guided tour" of the history of Persian art,' the organizers chose to weigh 'the historical factor' lightly as an organizational principle.[46] Instead, visitors were met by 'a decorative extravaganza' designed to 'bowl viewers over from the moment they set foot in the building.'[47] Deliberately avoiding 'an intellectual approach,' the organisers instead created an Aladdin's cave of wonders; contemporary news reports compare the scene to the Arabian Nights.[48] Wood stresses the simplicity of such a presentation of goods, crowded together with little critical exegesis: 'The basic premise of underlying the show – the Arabian Nights stereotype of "Eastern" art as a timeless, undifferentiated blaze of sense-dulling bedazzlement – was nothing new.'[49] This approach Wood puts down to Pope's belief in 'the Persian *spirit*' as consistent guiding artistic principle, a problematic homogenising view that 'today's scholars would speedily reject.'[50]

Alongside the exhibition catalogue and *Illustrated Souvenir*,[51] various publications on Persian art appeared in the early 1930s, as well as Pope's *Survey* from 1938.[52] Perhaps the most significant item in terms of the aesthetic view of Byron in particular and Stark to a lesser extent, is an essay by Roger Fry in the *Illustrated Souvenir* to the exhibition. Fry was a central member of the Bloomsbury group, whom Sackville-

[43] Wood 119.
[44] Ibid 123-4.
[45] Ibid 115.
[46] Ibid 116.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid 116-7. 'Persian Art Exhibit Opens Tomorrow,' *New York Times*, 6 January 1931.
[49] Ibid 117.
[50] Ibid 118-9.
[51] *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 3rd edition (revised)* (London: Gee & Co. Ltd., 1931).
[52] Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting: Including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House, January-March, 1931* (London: OUP, 1933). Creassey Tattersall, *The Carpets of Persia: A book for those who use and admire them* (London: Luzac & Company, 1931). Denison Ross, *The Persians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931). See also Binyon *et al*. cited above.

West had met through Woolf.[53] Harold Nicolson once compared Sackville-West's talent in *Passenger to Teheran* with Roger Fry elucidating coins or cameos in a museum.[54] In 'Some Aspects of Persian Art' Fry emphasises the 'continuous tradition' of Persian art, and suggests 'one of the dominant characteristics of Persian art [is] its extraordinary power of assimilating foreign influences and of combining them with others to make a homogenous style.'[55] Fry's elegant and elevated writing style continues throughout his essay, as he speaks of the 'new elegance and amenity in the proportions' of Achaemenid art, or the 'note of elegance and civility [which] appears to me to be one of the constant qualities which Persian art tends to retain through all its changes.'[56] Fry argues that the Sāsānian dynasty was a 'period of great achievement, and its artists gave full expression to their specific aesthetic feeling.'[57] Fry praises the Sāsānian rock-cut high reliefs,[58] as well as the 'minor arts of the metal worker and the potter' drawing on Sāsānian design to form 'the basis of one of the most perfect expressions of aesthetic feeling which the world has seen.'[59] Fry considers Muhammadan art from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, believing it presents 'masterpieces… the extraordinary aesthetic intuition of these people… the imaginative grasp which could capture, as it were, the very life of the animal, and yet enclose it in the narrow limits of such a pure plastic harmony… unrivalled… For nicety of proportions, for unanalysable delicacy of curvature, some of these bowls and pots, for all their unpretentiousness, must count as great artistic expressions.'[60] Such exuberant analysis surely prefigures Byron's analysis in *The Road to Oxiana*, and Byron's praise of 'the vigour of Persian Islamic art… well before its supposed zenith in the sixteenth century' echoes Fry too.[61] By considering the impact of the exhibition of 1931 one can and must reinterpret Byron's thesis on the origins of Islamic art not as the work of a solitary genius; but part of an international craze for Islamic art in general, and Persian art in particular, which flourished in the early 1930s.

[53] Glendinning 142.
[54] Nicolson, *Harold and Vita*, pp.163-5.
[55] *Souvenir* xvii.
[56] Ibid xvii and xviii.
[57] Ibid xviii.
[58] Ibid xviii.
[59] Ibid xvii.
[60] Ibid xix.
[61] Colin Thubron, 'Introduction,' *The Road to Oxiana*, Robert Byron (London: Penguin, 2007) p.ix.

5.3 Freya Stark: Assassins and Nomads

> *The Dervish had kind and wise eyes, used to the observation of things and men. I asked him why he travelled.*
>
> *"To see," he said.*
>
> *"We all travel," I remarked, "even though we stay at home."*
>
> *This philosophical contribution was received with a murmur of approval, and I was accepted as someone with whom rational conversation was not impossible.*[62]

Freya Stark's motivations for travel echo those of her women-traveller predecessors like Isabella Bishop or perhaps Ella Sykes. Her most recent biographer Jane Fletcher Geniesse has argued that Stark travelled 'in a quest for personal freedom and hoping to gain stature beyond what was ordinarily accorded a single woman.'[63] Beyond these perhaps obvious motivations, one must recognise Stark's intellectual engagement with the Middle East, both ancient and modern, and a love of adventure. Geniesse's biography makes clear the hardships of Stark's peripatetic childhood and experiences during WWI.[64] Taking a psychological approach to the texts of her subject, Geniesse suggests that Stark considered travel-writing and essays 'a safer medium' than fiction, for which she displayed an early talent: in two surviving pieces, Geniesse says, 'there is such an intensity of feeling that one is left to wonder if it was too dangerous for her to explore these deeply personal regions from which a writer of fiction must necessarily draw.'[65] One need not, however, view Stark's travels and travel-writing solely as escapist.

Instead, one sees in Stark's interest in the Middle East the influence of previous travellers: as Geniesse comments, 'Kipling's tales of British imperial grandeur… the story of Kim and the Red Lama had been her favourite book…. To Freya, the East

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[62] Freya Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins and other Persian Travels* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), p.94.

[63] Jane Fletcher Geniesse, *Freya Stark: Passionate Nomad* (London: Pimlico, 2000), pp.81-2. Earlier biographies of Stark include: Caroline Moorhead's *Freya Stark* (London: Viking, 1985); Malise Ruthven's *Traveller Through Time* (London: Viking, 1986); and Molly Izzard's *Freya Stark* (London: Sceptre, 1993). Izzard's biography has been criticized by the travel-writer Dervla Murphy amongst others: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/book-review--stark-realities-go-unnoticed-freya-stark-a-biography--molly-izzard-hodder-pounds-25-1481957.html, accessed 13 May 2012.

[64] Geniesse, in her introduction to the Modern Library Edition of *The Valleys of the Assassins*, remarks that: 'Only recently was it revealed that her real father was an American from New Orleans, Obediah Dyer, who apparently had had an affair with Freya's mother in southern Italy in 1891. Possibly she never knew her true origins, as it was assumed that her parents were Flora and Robert Stark…' 'Introduction,' x. Geniesse offers no further clarification of this claim, and I have not been able to substantiate it through other sources.

[65] Geniesse 48.

seemed the most exotic place left on earth.'[66] Growing up in Italy, Stark was sent 'occasional books… by friends: the stories of Kipling, Edward FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*…'[67] Stark was moreover attracted by 'the history of brilliant Eastern adventures' and 'plunged avidly into its literature.'[68] The literary world of European explorers into which Freya immersed herself included Johann Burckhardt who discovered Petra; Ulrich Seetzen who mapped the Dead Sea; Sir Richard Burton; and Charles Doughty. One notes that this literary heritage focused on the lands of the Middle East which lie to the west of Persia: the literature on Persia was peripheral to the accounts of exploration of what constitutes modern-day Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Israel. More recent inspirational figures included T. E. Lawrence, whose successes Stark had 'raptly followed' during the war.[69] Lawrence's colleague at the 1921 Cairo Peace Conference, Gertrude Bell, was similarly greatly influential on Stark, although she resented comparison with her predecessor and would not write a biography of her.[70] Geniesse points out that both women 'showed [not] the slightest interest in women's issues; both always regarded the intellectual capacities of their gender with ill-concealed contempt.'[71] Stark's insecurities, argues Geniesse, made 'every success' she had 'so precious to her and filled such a bottomless need that she could not be generous about her deceased rival.'[72] Geniesse claims that Stark's achievements were greater considering her less aristocratic birth, and 'in the end she roamed much farther' than Bell.[73] One notes the curious parallel that both women's first published texts were on Persia, while their later careers focused more on the Levant and Arabia: Bell's *Persian Pictures* was published anonymously 1894, and Stark's *The Valleys of the Assassins* forty years later.[74]

Indeed, Persia was always for Stark somewhat peripheral to her other interests. Her primary linguistic focus was Arabic rather than Persian. She studied Arabic in 1927 at the London School of Oriental Studies, which had been founded to train Britons who

[66] Ibid 5.
[67] Ibid 28.
[68] Ibid 5.
[69] Ibid 5.
[70] Ibid 81.
[71] Ibid 37.
[72] Ibid 82.
[73] Ibid 83.
[74] In Stark's case, *Assassins* was her first work published in England; *Baghdad Sketches* had been published in Baghdad in 1932, and was later republished by John Murray in 1937.

were to work overseas.[75] Stark's first travels in the Middle East were also not to Persia, but to Lebanon and Syria, where she first encountered Bedouin, and entered the regions belonging to the Druze.[76] This route probably owed much to Bell's *The Desert and the Sown*.[77] It was the Druze's connection with another Ismaili sect, based in Persia, that motivated Stark's next steps. She travelled to London to study available material on this sect, the Assassins 'who had terrorized the East during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', and sought to travel into Persia to research their history.[78]

Stark undertook this extensive preparatory research in the British Museum in London in the summer of 1929.[79] That autumn she moved to Baghdad, where she undertook study of Persian with a mullah, and commenced her trips to Persia.[80] A visit to a Shia mosque in Baghdad, disguised in a chador much as Isabella Bird had done in Qom in the 1890s, reveals her adventurousness.[81] Stark's plans utilised Marco Polo's records of his travels, echoing Percy Sykes' interest in the great Venetian. She read William of Tyre, who has been labelled 'perhaps the finest historian ever to write an account of the crusader kingdoms.'[82] Stark was also familiar with the story of Count Henry of Champagne meeting an assassin, and the work of a German orientalist, Joseph Von Hammer-Purgsttall.[83] Finally, she was aided by 'sketchy intelligence maps' provided by a British friend in Baghdad, Captain Vyvyan Holt. Her first trip to Qasir Khan and surrounding regions, northeast of Qazvin, lasted about one month in 1930, after which she returned to Italy to visit her mother, Canada to visit her father, and London to see friends, where she also sourced letters of assistance from the Aga Khan and again made use of the British Museum.[84] The Royal Geographical Society also assisted her, having been impressed by her maps from the Valleys of the Assassins. In her 1951 autobiography, Stark writes that 'there was a Persian air about London' in the spring of 1931. The 'beautiful' exhibition at Burlington house 'gave one a singular feeling for the unity and harmony of that land – the same delicacy, specialized and remote,

[75] Geniesse 6.
[76] Ibid 64 and 71.
[77] Ibid 81. Gertrude Bell, *The Desert and the Sown* (London: Heineman, 1907).
[78] Geniesse 83.
[79] Ibid 89-90.
[80] Ibid 102.
[81] Ibid 95-6.
[82] Bartlett 147.
[83] Geniesse 106.
[84] Ibid 108, 118-20.

ran through it all, from carpets to maiolicas, and miniatures to brocades.' After seeing the exhibition, Stark left 'with a harvest of new and exciting thoughts inside me.'[85] Moreover, Stark 'was to have met Sir Percy Sykes and quite a lot of interesting orientalists': the initial plan fell through because of a riding injury Stark suffered, and it is not certain she and Sykes did meet.[86] Nonetheless, the close community of British travellers to Persia is still evident. In July 1931 Stark returned to Persia, again visiting the Valleys of the Assassins. En route back to Baghdad, she was tempted to Luristan in western Persia, by reports of bronzes in Neolithic graves. She finally returned to Baghdad in October 1931.[87] In the late summer of 1932, Stark visited Persian Kurdistan with another Briton based in Baghdad, and in the autumn of 1932 she visited Luristan again looking for treasure.[88]

These separate journeys are described out of chronology in *Valleys*. They are bound together by their shared interest in archaeology and ethnology, as well as consistent prose. Part I covers Stark's time in Luristan; part II describes her experiences in Mazanderan, the northern region on the Caspian in which the assassins' central fort Alamut is found. *Valleys* makes no reference to Stark's routes into and out of Persia, instead immersing the reader in remote regions from the outset. Stark's letters and later autobiography offer some clarification of aspects of her travel arrangements omitted from *Valleys*.[89] In contrast with many earlier travel-writers, for Stark Persia was a destination for brief but intense visits from Baghdad, her home for three years, as opposed to a singular destination, or section of an extensive journey. It is perhaps all the more remarkable, therefore, that *Valleys* has reached such a preeminent position in twentieth-century British travel-literature. Stark's relatively fleeting experiences of Persia have in no way diminished the worth of the text in the eyes of readers and reviewers. This analysis of Stark's text opens with a discussion of the first half of the work, the combination of the Luristan trips into an absorbing adventure narrative as Stark hunts Neolithic bronzes, and treasure of which she had heard in Baghdad. It explores Stark's presentation of her motivations for travel, and the

[85] Freya Stark, *Beyond Euphrates* (London: John Murray, 1951), pp.185-6.
[86] *Beyond Euphrates* 194.
[87] Geniesse 131.
[88] Ibid 135-6.
[89] Freya Stark, *Letters, Vol. 2: The open door, 1930-35* (Tisbury, Wiltshire: Compton Russell, 1975). p.19 tells us that Stark flew into Persia. Stark, *Beyond Euphrates: Autobiography 1928-1933* (London: John Murray, 1951).

characteristics of her writing style; her presentation of the tribes in relation to the modernity of Shah Pahlavi's reforms and the west; and Stark's sometimes orientalist attitudes which are presented alongside a respect for and detailed knowledge of the nomads she encounters.

Stark's Preface makes clear her appreciation of travel on its own terms, rather than a secondary element to diplomatic, journalistic, military or missionary activity. Moreover, the telescoping of a few days' experience in her narrative suggests an appreciation of well-written travel narratives, whatever the traveller's successes or achievements.[90] In her Preface Stark gently satirises the Baghdad expat community's concerns about the purpose of her travel. She says a traveller must find 'some more ascetic reason than mere enjoyment… if one wishes to travel in peace: to do things for fun smacks of levity, immorality almost, in our utilitarian world.' This wry observation of her fellow Britons in Baghdad and bewildered passport officials, provides a certain levity but also reflects the dramatic changes in the ability to travel independently by the 1930s. A sense of '*joie de vivre*' is sufficient for Stark, but not all her contemporaries, who plague her with 'those twin Virtues… Responsibility and Purpose.' (Preface, xxi) Despite her claiming to travel for travel's sake, her work is not only motivated by the search for the assassins' former home, but also ancient remains, and a desire to study and record the lifestyle of the remaining nomadic groups. Her work reveals these several motivations for travel, but these need no longer be depicted as the central justification for wandering: the desire to travel is sufficient explicit explanation, while the 'ethnologist's instinct' becomes clear as an implicit inspiration.[91] The Persian police who detain her in 1932 are bewildered at her travels, speculating that she might be 'a spy... a student of ancient histories… [or] an innocent traveller, who was learning far more about the general state of the country… than the Persians like to have known abroad.' (135)

Alongside 'prehistoric Lurish skulls' (23) and Bronze Age graves 'in which men and horses are said to be buried together' (29), Stark seeks the more obviously valuable treasure that she heard of in Baghdad. Stark's curiosity is entirely of her time and

[90] As an example, the first chapter which describes 'A Fortnight in N. W. Luristan' is forty pages in length.
[91] Geniesse 82-3.

common: ‘Now no one has travelled at all in the Near East, especially since the revival of archaeology, without hearing of buried treasures at every other step.’ (46) Stark notes that the development has some problematic effects: ‘the whole of Europe is now flooded with antiques from Luristan (many of them fakes).’ (25) During her first fortnight in the country, Stark removes objects which she concedes is ‘directly against the law.’ (27) She justifies her actions to her reader, arguing that looting was not controlled by the police, and that her appraisal of remaining relics was urgent. Unlike officially sanctioned or instructed earlier travellers, Stark presents herself as beyond the law, lending an additional glamour to her narrative. Stark never finds the cave purported to hold the treasure, nor graves holding both men and horses. She hypothesises, however, that ‘the bronzes, I was becoming more and more convinced, belonged to people who followed the rivers and ever clung to the neighbourhood of waterways.’ (96) Stark’s travels provided a wealth of information, particularly cartographic, to British readers, but the most obvious goals of her journeys are not achieved. Hence, perhaps, the lack of specific ambition conveyed in her Preface; or, perhaps, a revolutionary desire to challenge the notions of travel with a purpose, and a wish to challenge expectations of the value of travel-writing.

Moreover, Stark’s interrogation of the purpose of travel and the implied reader’s expectations of a travelogue creates a new niche for women’s travel-writing. She notes the Governor of Pusht-i-Kuh’s admiration for her nation through her work: ‘“No wonder,” said he politely, “that yours is a powerful nation. Your women do what our men are afraid to attempt.”’ (137) Stark is able to play the role of a simple woman when this is advantageous to her travel, but notes moments when she is able to challenge gender expectations – as in the quotation which opens this section.[92] Stark notes, however, examples of the ongoing subjugation of women in Persia and implicitly internationally. As she stays with an impoverished family one night, Stark writes of the meagre meal shared amongst the guest and family: ‘As for the daughter, she had learnt already what is what in this world. She neither got nor expected a share.’ (62) One notes that Stark emphasises her cartographic achievements, formerly more generally men’s work: having discovered that ‘Gavan Kuh and Takht-i-

[92] ‘The great and almost only comfort about being a woman is that one can always pretend to be more stupid than one is and no one is surprised. …I had not the vaguest idea of where we were staying, and looked at him with a blank idiocy which he thought perfectly natural.’ (49)

Suleiman were the only two mountains marked on my map,' she resolves 'to collect my own names and fill them in as I went along, and began gradually to discover the joys and difficulties of a geographer.' (171) One recalls Percy Sykes' work of the 1890s as Stark find that names are used for 'a whole region, and… whatever village, river, mountain, or pass belonging to it they happened to wish to define.' (171) There is a clash enacted between the European's cartographic practices and the native usage, which Stark attempts to resolve in the evenings, whilst conversing with the men of each village. (172)

Stark's engagement with the nomads, upon whose hospitality she relies, develops an understanding of the lives and cultural practices of these communities before the Shah's reforms profoundly altered their lives. Stark's depiction of their lives substantiates Geniesse's understanding that it was the 'ethnologist's instinct' which motivated Stark. Stark writes: 'As the aim of the Persian government is to have them all dressed *à la Ferangi* in a year's time, with peaked *kepis* and the Shah's portrait stamped on the lining, it is worthwhile perhaps to give a picture of them as far as possible before too much tidiness spoils them.'[93] (3) This phrase both celebrates the vulnerable lifestyle of the nomads, but also patronisingly implies that what makes them special is 'untidiness.' This picturesque viewing of the nomad celebrates the unchanged, and there is a tension in Stark's work between her desire to record a soon to be lost lifestyle, and the typical enjoyment of the antiquarian traveller. She writes: 'There I slept, more safely than in Chicago, a wanderer not only in space but in time also, living a life that most of the world has now forgotten.' (86-7) This phrase encapsulates her positive comparison of her experiences in Luristan with the west, as well as the need to record this 'life' that is implicitly in danger of being completely forgotten.

Stark has sympathy with nomads who long for modern technology, particularly two women who had spent some months in Baghdad, a memory which now 'lived with

[93] Stark views this imposition with ridicule: although the tribes had had one year's notice, they had not acquired the required clothes until a reminder from Teheran five days before the deadline: 'To procure a city suit in five days in the wilds of Luristan, is a joke only fit for *Punch* or the Persian government.' (10) See also V. W. Emanuel's *The Wild Asses: a journey through Persia* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939).

them in a glorified vision.' (60) As Stark lights her torch they murmur '"Kahraba," electricity! …as if it held a whole heartful of longings.':

> The worship of the East for mechanical things seems to us deplorable and shallow; but seen here against so naked a background, the glamour of the machine, of something that gives comfort without effort in a place where bare necessities themselves are precarious, and every moment of ease comes as a boon and a miracle; seen here by the fire in the tent that swayed in the cold night, the light that sprang at will from the palm of my hand did indeed hold a divinity about it – a Promethean quality as of lightning snatched from heaven and made gentle and submissive to the uses of man. So their eyes saw it, more truly, perhaps, than ours, who buy the things as soulless glass and wire. (61)

This passage is also exemplary of Stark's writing style: the scene is described in detail, with clausal-rich constructions, varied vocabulary including adjectives such as Promethean, and a deft lightness of touch in 'more truly, perhaps.' In contrast with these women, others have returned 'and live just as they lived two thousand years ago or more. The force of primitive circumstance is too great for them. And these amenities [such as electricity] are not, like freedom, or religion, authority or leisure, among the indispensible necessities of mankind.' (97-8) This question of the 'necessities of mankind' leads on to Stark's discussion of the moral codes of the nomads, which she praises highly. She admires 'not the turbulences of the tribesman… but the virtues that go with his turbulence' and 'the freedom of his spirit.' This freedom might be briefly disciplined by 'the semi-civilized' and fear, but the nomad returns to his own codes which Stark states he 'rightly prefers.' (143-4)

For all her sympathy with the nomads' living conditions and admiration for their values, however, Stark's work contains orientalist attitudes, usually expressed with a humour to counterbalance the judgements. The Lurs, for example, are depicted throughout the text as rapacious thieves.[94] This judgement extends even to a national level: 'The chief among them had murdered his father and was, Alidad explained, "not a good man," even in a country where the standard is not very high.' (69) In the second half of the book, Stark writes as she travels in Alamut, 'We were in the

[94] '[The Lurs] never expected to be paid in any way. They may contemplate a raid on their guest's luggage while he sleeps, but that is another matter: it is the country's national pastime, with rules of its own: and who are we, after all, to demand consistency in morals!' (22)

'Stealing is the national art. The Lurs appear to pride themselves on it more than on anything else.' (34)

country of heresies.' (176) and 'Persia is bad for one's morals.' (175) Sometimes Stark's knowledge of nomadic principles combines with her deprecating view of them:

> It is unlucky to reach a nomad's tent in the master's absence.
>
> The laws of hospitality are based on the axiom that a stranger is an enemy until he has entered the sanctuary of somebody's tent: after that, his host is responsible, not only for his safety, but for his general acceptability with the tribe. He is treated at first with suspicion, and gradually with friendliness as he explains himself – very much as if he were trying to enter a country neighbourhood in England, for the undeveloped mind is much the same in Lincolnshire or Luristan… (70-71)

By turning to 'the undeveloped mind' in Lincolnshire, perhaps Stark humorously undermines her sometimes patronising attitude towards Persians, or makes a broader comment about a common humanity. Going further than Sackville-West's philosophical digressions, Stark uses the travelogue as a form for reflection on modernity and humanity: for example, Stark believes the absence of solitude in 'modern education' has resulted in 'a decline in religion, in poetry, in all the deeper affections of the spirit.' (126) The contemporary west is also, thus, criticized by Stark.

The second half of the book describes Stark's journeys in Mazanderan, beginning with the chapters 'A Journey to the Valley of the Assassins 1930' and 'The Assassins' Castle of Lamiasar 1931.' As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, enemies of the medieval group derogatively called them '*hashishiyyun*' (hashish takers), 'a term applied by Muslims to those that they regarded as moral reprobates.' Over the next 'couple of hundred years' it was appropriated and metamorphosed by Western knights into 'Assassins.'[95] W. B. Bartlett prefers to call them the Nizaris, followers of Nizar. Nizar was a leader of this splinter group of Ismailis, themselves a offshoot of Shiite Islam.[96] The Assassins or Nizaris had castles 'which were held by the movement in parts of Persia and Syria during its heyday.'[97] Bartlett stresses the 'fear that the Nizaris generated' and their 'psychological impact on those who came into contact with them out of all proportion to the numbers of members they had.'[98] Hasan was accepted as Nizar's successor from 1095, but never claimed the title of Imam for

[95] Bartlett, 'Prologue,' x.
[96] Ibid x-xi.
[97] Ibid xi.
[98] Ibid xi-ii.

himself.[99] Hasan was responsible for the capture of the ninth-century fortress Alamut in the almost impregnable Elburz mountains in 1090, which became the headquarters of the movement.[100] The region around the fortress thus came to be associated with the mysterious and fascinating Nizari movement, and known as the Valleys of the Assassins. In Syria there was also a substantial Nizari community, with whom crusaders came into contact and about whom chroniclers wrote, believing 'they were the only Nizari group that existed.'[101] In fact, as Bartlett notes, Persia was almost always the site of the group's headquarters.[102] The connections Stark drew between the Druze she met in Syria and the Assassins' castles she sought in Persia were therefore insightful.

As discussed in the introduction, Marco Polo's depiction of the Assassins is perhaps the most influential western record of the group, and Stark's use of his work echoes Percy Sykes' interest, and suggests how influential his work was for centuries.[103] Bartlett considers Polo's 'the definitive legend of the Assassins,'[104] which is 'now generally accepted [as] largely a Western invention,' but one that was influenced by the accusations levelled at the group by other Muslims, who considered the Nizaris to be heretics.[105] Polo's impact on Stark can be gauged by her comparison of his records with her experience.[106] Another key element of the popular understanding of the Assassins dates to an earlier chronicler, Burchard of Strassburg, whose mission to the Nizaris took place at the end of the twelfth century. Burchard writes of not only the paradisiacal garden used to tempt believers to the cause, as also described by Polo, but also the Old Man of the Mountain, after whom one of Stark's episodes is named. Alongside these early-modern chronicles, Stark was familiar with the 1866 court case in Bombay, in which the Aga Khan's right to 'spiritual authority' over his community was upheld, and his 'relationship with the hereditary Imams of Alamut' was proved.[107]

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[99] Bartlett 61-2.
[100] Ibid 43-51.
[101] Ibid 103.
[102] Ibid 104.
[103] See, for example, *Valleys* 173, 185, 187.
[104] Bartlett 241, 260
[105] Ibid 245.
[106] See, for example, 173, 185, 187.
[107] Bartlett 286-7.

Stark's summary of the evolution of the Assassin sect moves deftly from the origins of Shia and Ismaili Islam, to Hasan-i-Sabbah and the Crusaders, the thirteenth-century Mongol invasion, and the 1866 Bombay trial. Stark repeats the legend that the followers were drugged in a secret garden, a reproduction of paradise, to ensure their loyalty and commitment to the cause. (160) Stark's commentary also includes a striking simile: '[Hasan] brought a new idea into the political science of his day and treated murder as the suffragette did the hunger strike, turning it into an avowed political weapon.' (160) For all the clear appeal the legends of the Assassins held for Stark, and the prominence of the episode given in the title of the book, the journey to Alamut constitutes a small central section of the work (just thirty pages of nearly three-hundred in a recent edition). Similarly, 'The Assassins' Castle of Lamiasar' is a brief chapter of fifteen pages; the bulk of the second half of the book is formed of her description of 'The Throne of Solomon.' One must conclude therefore that the allure of the title was considered sufficient justification for its choice despite the slight position Alamut takes within the work.

Moreover, despite Stark's achievements in recognising the connections between Syrian and Persian sects, and her travels around Alamut, her travelogue prioritises pleasure in her narrative. Travel-writing's value as an entertaining form is emphasised over a necessity to convey one's achievements to the reader:

> Anyone who wishes for scientific information about these matters is referred to the classics on the subject of the Assassins, Von Hammer Purgstall, Guyard, etc.; to Mr. L. Lockhart's article in Vol. XIV of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*; to Mr. Ivanow's paper, and to my own itinerary in *The Royal Geographical Society's Journal*, of January, 1931. What I write here is for pleasure, for other people's, I hope, but, in any case for my own, for it is always agreeable to go over the wandering days. History and geography, arguments and statistics are left out: I mention the things I like to remember as they come into my head. (185)

Stark emphasises a dichotomy between her 'scientific' work for the *RGS Journal* and this travelogue, whose primary goal is the creation of 'pleasure,' echoing her Preface and her appreciation of simply the '*joie de vivre*' of travel. This increasing distinction between a contribution to knowledge and the creation of a diverting narrative continues a process traced by this thesis. In this section of the work Stark's motivations are more explicitly expressed, and recognised as valid by Persians who

'knew all about Hasan-i-Sabbah' and 'thought it natural that one should journey from England to see his castle.' This coming together of British and Persian interest is undermined by Stark's next comment, that: 'The Persian's mind, like his illuminated manuscripts, does not deal in perspective: two thousand years, if he happens to know anything about them, are as exciting as the day before yesterday; and the country is full of obscure worshippers of leaders and prophets whom the rest of the world has long ago forgotten.' (164) This phrase allows for a wealth of Persian history yet to be explored, but problematically denies the (universal) Persian mind historical perspective.

This world of forgotten leaders and prophets, and the difficulties Stark has in reaching Alamut, suggest this corner of Persia remains unexplored, and is attractive for this fact.[108] Hearing of previous travellers, and encountering other Europeans, becomes then for Stark quite disappointing. She discovers 'by dint of enquiries' that 'Alamut has been visited eight or nine times at least by Europeans.' (162) Stark is then, even to this challenging mountain range, a belated traveller. She is anxious upon hearing reports of people visiting the castle every year, as 'this sounded rather like a tourist resort,' but shortly discovers 'the crowd of visitors' is comprised of 'two parties within the last two years and an "English Ambassador" and his wife from Teheran some years ago. The rules for the sightseeing were well established, however.' (177) Stark creates an amusing tension between the obscureness of her choice of destination and her determinedly old-fashioned trek, and the language of mass-tourism – 'tourist resort' and 'sightseeing.' At least for her guide Aziz and his two assistants Stark is 'their first European.' (167) Part of the appeal of such landscapes to Stark is isolation, and 'having a landscape to yourself':

> It is a pleasure exclusive, unreasoning, and real: it has some of the quality and some of the intensity of love: it is a secret shared: a communion which an intruder desecrates: and to go to the lonely and majestic places of the work for poor motives, to turn them to cheap advertisement or flashy journalism, jars like a spiritual form of prostitution on your true lover of the hills. The solitary rapture must be disinterested. And often it is stumbled upon unthinkingly by men whose business takes them

[108] 'I had long wished to go there. But there were obstacles. One of them was that I could not find it on my map. There was Alamut district, but no Alamut village, nor indeed is there such a village, as I discovered when I reached the valley.' (162)

> along remoter ways: who suddenly find enchantment on their path and carry it afterwards through their lives with a secret sense of exile.
>
> I did not think of this, however, nor of anything nor anybody: the loveliness of the world being enough in itself. How hillmen love them everywhere. (187-8)

Stark presents herself her in the mould of her independent traveller predecessors, but this illusion is shattered in the final section of the book, as Stark ultimately fails to reach the Throne of Solomon, a peak in the mountain range which contains Alamut. Also in the region are a Hungarian engineer and his Greek wife. Stark has 'forebodings' about this woman, but meets her nonetheless, only to have her anxieties fully realised. (236) Stark's type of travel – adventurous, independent, singular – is challenged by the presence of another Westerner, particularly a woman, in the same region, and while the portrait of the woman is amusing, it is also uncharitable. Stark relishes the return of peace following the unnamed woman's departure, and only learns later that the Hungarian engineer intentionally thwarted Stark's attempts to climb the peak known as the Throne of Solomon by threatening Stark's guide. (247)

Stark's primary goals are repeatedly thwarted: by Persian police, by competitive Europeans, and by her own body, ravaged by a combination of dysentery and malaria. While in the first half of the book Stark is in a position of power when it comes to medicine, able to help a boy with a badly infected arm after a snake bite, in the second half of the work she must rely wholly on an opium-smoking, knowledgeable local doctor. Stark's narrative accepts the vulnerability of the inexperienced European body in this landscape, in a way which contrasts with, for example, Ella Sykes' protestations of well-being during her time in Kerman. Even within a relatively unknown landscape, which can be described in detail to the reader and conveyed in maps to the societies of London, the increasing centrality of the experience of the narrator in twentieth-century travel-writing is visible in Stark's work.

Thus personality of both traveller and those s/he encounters becomes a more central concern. When enjoying the hospitality of villagers again, Stark writes on the 'pleasures of travel', which can be seen to be in direct contrast with her experience of the other two Europeans in Mazanderan:

> If I were asked to enumerate the pleasures of travel, this would be one of the greatest among them – that so often and so unexpectedly you meet the best in human nature, and seeing it so by surprise and often with a most improbable background, you come, with a sense of pleasant thankfulness, to realize how widely scattered in the world are goodness and courtesy and the love of immaterial things, fair blossoms found in every climate, on every soil. (269)

Stark's love of travel is clear in this text and indeed the details of the rest of her life. This statement is, however, problematic, suggesting as it does that is it remarkable to find the best in human nature in, for example, the mountains of northern Persia. Stark has created in *The Valleys of the Assassins* a gripping narrative, filled with vignettes of nomadic life, beautiful descriptions of scenery, episodes of humour and even on occasion philosophy. Modern admirers of the work must be alive, however, to commentary such as this which, while admiring of many of the Persians she meets, still retains prejudices which echo some of her travel-writing predecessors.

The Geographical Journal reviews have offered sample contemporary responses to much of the travel-writing on Persia that this thesis has discussed, and its review of Stark's first published work is, like so many of its other reviews, striking. C. J. Edmonds opens his review with Stark's ironic line: 'The great and almost only comfort about being a woman… is that one can always pretend to be more stupid than one is, and no one is surprised.'[109] Edmonds makes Stark's gender key in his first paragraph, arguing that her gender in fact enables her travel to a substantial degree. Edmonds argues that under 'the Islamic social system' male travellers are 'almost completely debarred from contact, not only with half the population of the country he visits, but even with the other half on the domestic side of its everyday life.' Moreover 'particularly if he is an official, [he] is at once suspect and is prevented from wandering far off the beaten track.' In contrast, a woman might have 'a better chance of getting her way by adopting the piece of feminine technique in question; but even that will avail little unless she has the knowledge and skill to give the right amount of line to officious Persons in Authority, just as Miss Stark played the policeman on the Harsin-Khurramabad road…' This ability of the Western female

[109] Edmonds was 'a British political officer who served with the British Expeditionary Forces in Mesopotamia and western Persia, and later in the civil administration of Iraq. From 1935 to 1945 he was adviser to the Ministry of Interior in Iraq.' Like Stark, he was awarded the Percy Sykes Memorial Medal in 1967. He was, therefore, eminently qualified to judge Stark's depiction of rural Persia and her contribution to British understanding of the country. http://www.rsaa.org.uk/speakers/view/edmonds-_c-j Accessed 9 August 2011.

traveller to move between male and female Muslim spaces is still commented upon in twenty-first century memoirs, including Anne Seierstad in *The Bookseller of Kabul*.[110] Edmonds concludes his first paragraph pointing out, however, the exceptional quality of Stark's work, regardless of gender: 'While therefore it is perhaps not unfair in these days to expect a better book of Eastern travel from a woman than from a man, that is not to say that it is enough to be a woman to produce a gem like "The Valleys of the Assassins."'[111] While Edmonds' statement is remarkable for its suggestion of a new hierarchy in responses to men's and women's travel-writing on account of the facility of their experience in Muslim countries, it is also insightful in its immediate recognition of the literary value of the text. Much of the remainder of the review considers Stark's routes and contribution to cartography, but in his final paragraph Edmonds again returns to the quality of the work:

> On this framework of geographical, archaeological, and historical research Miss Stark, who combines acute powers of observation and a delicate sense of humour with the fundamental qualification of a knowledge of the language, religion, and social practice of the country, has constructed a delightful narrative. Few authors have caught so happily the atmosphere of travel in the remoter parts of Persia, whether on the road or in the village, or in the nomad camp. A most interesting and charmingly written book, full of good things.[112]

Edmonds' warm review was echoed by others, including Laurence Lockhart for the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, where Stark had studied briefly.[113] Lockhart refers briefly to others who had reached Alamut, including Captain Eccles, Mr J. T. Henderson, and himself in 1928. Lockhart's review summarizes Stark's main routes and key experiences, and notes that while the 'book was written "for fun", and so much serious archaeological, historical, and geographical data are omitted… it adds much to our knowledge of these out-of-the-way parts and of the peoples who dwell therein, and the excellent maps will serve to fill in a number of areas that have

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[110] 'I imagine they regarded me as some sort of 'bi-gendered' creature. As a westerner I could mingle with both men and women. Had I been a man I would never have been able to live so close to the women of the household without gossip circulating. At the same time there was no obstacle to my being a woman, in a man's world. When the feasts were split, men and women in separate rooms, I was the only one able to circulate freely between the groups.' Anne Seierstad, *The Bookseller of Kabul* (London: Virago, 2003), pp.5-6.

[111] C. J. Edmonds, Review, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 84, No. 2 (August 1934), 156-157, p.156.

[112] Edmonds 157.

[113] Lockhart was, like Edmonds, well qualified to evaluate Stark's work: he worked in Iran for the Anglo-Persian Oil Company from 1926 to 1930, and later published *The fall of the Safavī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia* with Cambridge University Press in 1958. http://www.ames.cam.ac.uk/faclib/archive/lockhart.html, accessed 13 May 2012.

hitherto been mere blanks.' He concludes noting the text's literary merits: 'The book is interestingly and amusingly written, and Miss Stark's descriptions reveal her sympathy with the people she met, and her understanding of them.'[114] The *TLS* review also focuses on the quality of the language, noting 'an economy of language which could not be bettered'; 'this quality of gently ironical comment'; and concludes: 'She has written a book which those who read it will set in a place apart from all but a very small number of "travel-books."'[115]

Paul Fussell in *Abroad: British literary travelling between the wars*, his pioneering work on British travel-writing published in 1980, holds a very different view of Stark's work. Fussell engages with no women writers at length, and Stark is dismissed in a brusque parenthesis:

> (Someone is sure to ask why I've not dealt with the travel books of Freya Stark, and I will have to answer that to write a distinguished travel book you have to be equally interested in (1) the travel and (2) the writing. In Stark's works, admirable as the travel has been, the dimension of delight in language and disposition, in all the literary contrivances, isn't there. Her reward is due not from criticism but from the Royal Geographical Society, which has properly conferred upon her medals and grants. She could never say, as Waugh does, "I regard writing… as an exercise in the use of language, and with this I am obsessed." She could never say, as Waugh does, "Style alone can keep [the writer] from being bored with his own work.")[116]

Fussell's commentary raises questions about the worth of the two components of travel-writing – the journey and the text – but his negative judgement of Stark's writing neither chimes with the majority response nor acknowledges the many qualities that exist within her early work. To many *The Valleys of the Assassins* is a significant piece of travel literature on account of the quality of Stark's language. Fussell's response to Stark must be seen in the light of his overwhelmingly positive response to Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana*. Fussell's admiration for Byron's final work perhaps extinguishes space for discussion of a woman writer, who travelled to the same country in the three years immediately preceding Byron's trip, whose work was published just three years before *Oxiana*, and whose achievements in terms of original research and cartography far exceeded Byron's.

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[114] L. Lockhart, Review, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1934), 708-710.
[115] 'Valleys of the Assassins,' anonymous review, *The Times Literary Supplement*, No. 1686 (Thursday May 24, 1934), p.369.
[116] Fussell 197.

5.4 Robert Byron: *The Waste Land* of Travel-writing

Yezd: Sir Percy Sykes is the only writer who has noticed the buildings here, and he but shortly. Do people travel blind?[117]

Part of the methodology of this thesis has been to subject texts to close readings to reveal the characteristic innovations of the writer. For Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana*, published on 6th April 1937, such analysis would be somewhat redundant given the amount of critical exegesis already devoted to it. Instead, this study radically repositions the work in the lineage of British travel-writing on Persia, emphasising its connections to Byron's predecessors and the knowledge base from which he drew. The continuing mythology around the work has been perpetuated by almost exclusively male travel-writers, and by the pioneering critic of travel-writing, Paul Fussell, without sufficient recognition of the contexts of British travel-writing on Persia. Despite the numbers of women who travelled to Persia and who wrote on it, Byron has come to be seen almost as a unique figure, whose personality and writings stifle an appreciation of his contemporaries in Persia, not least Stark.

The iconic status of *Oxiana* is rooted in the biography and persona of the writer and the prose, quite unlike the concealed personality of the narrator and emphasis on information above narrative of Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question* of 1892. While Curzon shaped travel-writing on Persia for some decades, Byron has influenced travel-writers on many countries for far longer. Curzon sought to make himself the best informed possible candidate for the position of Viceroy of India; Byron's motivations were more aesthetic, but both sought to creative definitive texts. Later this analysis suggests how *Persia*'s bipartite construction influenced Byron in *Oxiana*, but it is worth noting here the parallels in the men's biographies, and the startlingly close connection between the men. Both men attended Eton then Oxford: in Curzon's case, Balliol College to study Classics from 1878; in Byron's History at Merton from 1922. During his time at Merton, Byron and his set enjoyed a dinner party given by 'Alfred Duggan, the immensely rich stepson of Lord Curzon,

[117] Robert Byron, *The Road to Oxiana*, intro. Colin Thubron (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p.203.

Chancellor of the University.'[118] Alfred became a close friend and travel companion of Byron's. In 1927 Byron dined with Duggan at Lady Curzon's house in Carlton House Terrace; Curzon had died two years earlier.[119] It is not unreasonable to hypothesize that Curzon had at least heard of Byron. That the two men whose travel-writing on Persia had the most impact in the fifty years of this thesis knew of each other, through Alfred – a friend of one and stepson of the other – is a remarkable coincidence, which highlights the continuing relative elitism of travel to Persia, and the small social networks which still enveloped many of the key travellers to Persia. Both Curzon and Byron travelled widely before the journeys which resulted in their travelogues on Persia. Despite many other interests – for Curzon politics, India, the British empire, and for Byron art, architecture, Byzantine history, journalism, photography – for both men the Central Asian river known as the Oxus was a grail of travel. Curzon's journey to the Amu Darya was recounted in his 1896 text, *The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus*, and rewarded with the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society. Reaching the Oxus was the ultimately-unfulfilled goal of Byron's final book, which describes Afghanistan alongside Persia. To each, therefore, Persia was in some way liminal to India and Afghanistan, yet these men produced the two British travelogues on Persia with the most impact between 1890 and 1940.

While Curzon's Persia experience was a step on a regimented career plan, Byron's response to Persia suggests how travel and travel-writing had become self-standing and profitable activity. This affection for travel had not always been evident. Evelyn Waugh recalls 'Robert's self-caricature at Oxford, shouting "Down with abroad" at the mention of travel.'[120] Unlike Sackville-West, whose life preceding her trip to Persia had a mass of previously under-analysed links with Persia, or Stark, for whom Persia was a relatively early focus, Byron's trip to Persia was one of the last major expeditions of his life, following Europe, India, Tibet and Russia. After the journeys which produced *Oxiana*, Byron travelled to America three times, spent several months in Russia, Korea, China and Japan, and travelled often in Europe before his death at sea in 1941.

[118] James Knox, *Robert Byron* (London: John Murray, 2004), p.54.
[119] Ibid 120
[120] Ibid 73.

The trip to Persia had been motivated by an architectural fascination. Byron had honed a theory of '*genius loci*, calculating the visual effect of landscape upon the activity of its inhabitants.'[121] He applied this to his analysis of buildings in India, as well as monasteries in Greece. Knox argues that: 'The psychological link between man's creation and God's earth was, in Robert's mind, indissoluble. It was to be a guiding light on his travels and a key to his unlocking of the creative genius of civilizations.'[122] This echoes Arthur Upham Pope's belief in a single creative spirit imbuing all Persian art, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Byron's slim work *The Appreciation of Architecture* (1932) aimed to 'equip the public with the skills to differentiate between good and bad architecture,' and was warmly reviewed by Harold Nicolson, after which its sales soared.[123] Regarding the Middle East and Central Asia, Byron sought to trace the development of Islamic architecture 'to its climax in the districts of Merv, Bokhara and Samarcand.' For this, he also wished to study 'the towers and minarets of Chorassan' and Timurid mosques, dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Like Stark, Byron's early research on the region was carried out at the School of Oriental Studies, in 1931.[124] Byron was also interested in other contemporary travellers, visiting the exhibition of photographs from the Younghusband exhibition to Tibet, at the Royal Geographical Society in 1926.[125]

After initial setbacks stemming from visa problems, in 1933 Byron resumed planning a trip to Persia and Central Asia, seeking advice from Mark Dineley among others. Dineley was reputedly a 'gentleman spy' working for the Foreign Office, who had travelled widely in Persia, acquiring '"some very jolly bronzes of the early Arab period", which were of sufficient quality to be accepted for the 1931 Persian Exhibition at the Royal Academy.'[126] Such bronzes were of course also of interest to Stark. Dineley was responsible for the idea of experimental charcoal burning cars joining the expedition, inspired by the journey of the Frenchman G. M. Haardt who had in 1931 reached as far as Afghanistan 'in a fleet of Citroën tractor cars.'[127] One notes how such journeys had expanded from Forbes-Leith's single Wolseley in 1924.

[121] Ibid 225.
[122] Ibid 141-2.
[123] Ibid 268-9.
[124] Ibid 239.
[125] Ibid 140.
[126] Ibid 270. Reference, p.463: 'Mark Dineley to Robert Byron, May/June 1933.'
[127] Ibid 272.

Dineley urged Byron to write a book about Afghanistan, saying: 'With regard to Persia and its monuments… they are very well written up except the obscurer ones in Eastern Persia.'[128] Dineley's comment here highlights how comprehensive the body of British travel-writing on Persia had become by this date. For Byron, however, the 'eleventh-century tomb tower of Gumbad-i-Kabus in northern Persia' was a primary goal, and in researching it, he corresponded with Arthur Upham Pope.[129] An old friend and travelling companion of Byron's, David Talbot Rice, 'had been responsible for negotiating the loans of Persian treasures from the Turkish government' for the 1931 exhibition.[130] It seems highly likely that Byron visited the exhibition having moved again to London in February 1931 and taken rooms next to the Adelphi.[131] An uprising in Chinese Turkestan made it clear by June 1933 that the expedition would not be able to travel there, and so Byron settled on Persia and Afghanistan. One sees that in contrast with most other travel writers in this thesis, Persia was never singly or mainly the goal for Byron's travel. Having settled on these destinations, Christopher Sykes joined the planned group; Sykes was no relation of Percy and Ella, but son of Mark Sykes who co-authored the Sykes-Picot agreement. Sykes had been 'an honorary attaché at the legation in Teheran' for one year from 1930, thus following in the footsteps of Nicolson. He had planned a 'light-hearted travel book' based on his time in Persia, but recalled it at the last minute, fearing that comments on the Shah and his government would mean he would be refused re-entry to Persia. Such caution echoes distantly Curzon's excision of comments on the Shah's wife in the 1890s.[132] Furthermore, it points to the still high demand for travelogues on Persia in the 1930s; Byron was given an advance of £100 by Harold Macmillan for a travel book provisionally entitled 'Travels in Persia.' Pope issued several letters of introduction, and Byron left London on 18th August 1933, from Victoria Station as had Sackville-West in 1926.[133]

In contrast with earlier travellers, Byron had not dedicated himself to preparatory study of Persian history, culture and art. As a result, on his way to Teheran he was flummoxed by the 'famous Sassanian bas-reliefs at Tak-i-Bostan, dating from the

[128] Ibid 273. Reference p.464: 'Mark Dineley to Robert Byron, May/June 1933.'
[129] Ibid 273-4.
[130] Ibid 274.
[131] Ibid 232.
[132] Ibid 278.
[133] Ibid 279, 281.

fourth century AD' and did not know 'whether to ascribe them to Byzantine, Assyrian, Indian or Armenian artists.' Similarly, he realised too late that 'the thirteenth-century Seljuk mausoleum' he had visited briefly at Hamadan was a building of which Upham Pope had specifically wish to receive photographs.[134] In Teheran, therefore, Byron committed himself to a study of various texts including Upham Pope's *Introduction to Persian Art* and Diez's *Churasanische Baudenkmaler* (Architectural Monuments of Chorassan) which had proved an early inspiration for travel to Persia. Byron also studied Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question* and Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*.[135] As this thesis has emphasised, now largely forgotten travelogues paid an important role in the development of British travel-writing on Persia towards a varied, stylistically sophisticated genre. Byron reading these two British books in Teheran, which were by 1933 forty-two and thirty-two years old respectively, highlights the long-lasting impact of these works on travellers to Persia. Furthermore, in the context of the evolution of British travel-writing on Persia, the radicalism of Byron's narrative style is made more evident through the knowledge that his two major British sources were such factually comprehensive narratives which were so influenced by empire.

Only in January 1934 did Byron fully realise his ambitions for his time in Persia, and was released from connection with the charcoal burners. He wrote to his mother: 'I now know, at least, exactly what I want to do here, which is such a relief… what I want to see, & where to go to complete a book about the buildings that will have permanent value.'[136] Like Curzon so many years earlier, Byron's primary concern is to construct a work of more than ephemeral worth. With this clarification of objectives, the nature of the book he planned for Macmillan also developed:

> My object now is this… to make a complete survey of the chief monuments of Persia, and in the spring to return to Afghanistan, and make another complete survey of the chief monuments of that country. I plan the book in diary form, that is to say in sections under date entries. But in each case where a monument is described, or a series of monuments, there would occupy another section, suitably headed. Thus those who wish to read the book as a travel book can concentrate chiefly on the

[134] Ibid 289. Upham Pope's requests for certain photographs heavily influenced Byron's itinerary, and the pair met in Teheran in April following Herzfeld's decision to allow photography at Persepolis after Byron's impressive resistance. Knox, 315.
[135] Ibid 289-90. Knox overplays the connection between these men, calling Sykes Curzon's 'disciple.'
[136] Ibid 302.

> dated section, while those who want to use it as a guide book can concentrate on the others.[137]

Knox notes that Byron considered Meier-Graefe's *Spanish Journey* 'an excellent example of a guide and travel book combined.'[138] What Knox does not note, however, is that Curzon's *Persia* of 1892 offers something comparable: a combination of travelogue and research tool. This thesis has sought to clarify the impact of Curzon's work on so many British travel-writers, and it is reasonable to conclude here that Byron's reading of Curzon in Teheran influenced the evolution of his own planned travelogue. Byron's was not the only work intended to spring from the trip to Persia and Afghanistan: the final breach with the 'charcoal burners' occurred in Herat in late 1933, when Byron discovered 'that Rutter was also writing a book, and even worse, that Boz had been aware of this from the start. Finding such concealment "unforgiveable", he decided to return to Persia.'[139] Sykes was also planning a book on Wassmass, 'the German agent who, during the war, had stirred up tribal unrest against the British.'[140] Christopher was offered the role of *Times* correspondent in Persia (again echoing Curzon's letters), which stoked suspicions of his role as spy.[141] Moreover, Sykes and Byron collaborated on a satirical novel based loosely on modern-day Persia, which they wrote together on the road in Afghanistan; *Innocence and Design* was published in 1935, but not a resounding success.[142]

Byron's output was not solely published literary efforts, however; after his return to London, he also worked with the War Office to clarify their maps of the road linking Herat, Mazar-i-Sherif and Kabul, along which Byron and Sykes had been the first Englishmen to travel.[143] Byron was careful to disassociate himself from the work should it be made more widely available than the War Office, in order to safeguard his ability to travel widely in the future. Byron also published on his experiences in *Country Life*, which had accepted his work for some years, as well as *The Bulletin of*

[137] Ibid 302, reference 465: 'Robert Byron to Daniel Macmillan,13 January 1934, the Macmillan archive, British Library.'
[138] Ibid 302.
[139] Ibid 299.
[140] Ibid 304. Sykes' *Wassmuss: "The German Lawrence"* was published in 1936 (London: Longmans & Co.) and contained photographs taken by Byron.
[141] Knox 305.
[142] Ibid 328, 335. Richard Waughburton [pseud.], *Innocence and Design* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1935).
[143] Knox 328-9. Knox describes Byron's report as 'true to the tradition of the Great Game, being replete with 'every scrap of rumour and gossip concerning the Russian presence.'

the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, another of Upham Pope's initiatives.[144] He also lectured in America, and at the Third International Congress of Persian Art and Archaeology in Leningrad in 1935.[145] Whilst anxiously awaiting the text for which they had given such generous advances, Harold Macmillan wrote to Byron, then in China, saying 'travel books with anything of a personality behind them seem almost certain of success.'[146] Byron's publication was, therefore, driven as much by a demand for travel books as his own aesthetic project. Financial security was always a source of anxiety for Byron, who shortly after the publication of *Oxiana* took a job with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, formerly the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, whose origins this thesis has mentioned.[147]

This background to the eventual publication of *Oxiana* is intended to dissolve some of the aura of exceptionality from around the work: Byron was one of a group of travellers, others of whom also sought to publish on their time in Persia; he collaborated with the British state with an eye to British knowledge the region; he read the works of his predecessors, and relied on them heavily; he published on the same journey in a variety of forms. Having ascertained these many similarities with other travellers to Persia, the aspects of the work which are unique and ground-breaking are clearer. Analysis of these facets has already been undertaken by Knox, contemporary reviewers, and late-twentieth century travel-writers who have admired Byron. This section therefore brings together for the first time these various responses to Byron, seeking to define the critical consensus which has ensured the Byron's work has been most regularly and recently reprinted of British travelogues on Persia from 1890 to 1940.

A sustained analysis of the work appears in Knox's biography, which dedicates a whole chapter ('Travellers' Tales') to the evolution of the text from Byron's travel-diaries. Knox describes the development from diary entries to the final text as 'uncompromising,' noting that Byron 'maintained the dated entries in print.' Moreover, the 'structure of five parts corresponds to the five notebooks kept on the

[144] Ibid 330-1.
[145] Ibid 333, 341. The first congress, organized by Upham Pope, had taken place in 1926 in Philadelphia; the second formed part of the 1931 RA exhibition.
[146] Ibid 367. Reference page 471: Harold Macmillan to Robert Byron, 18th July 1934.
[147] Ibid 368.

journey,' but Byron 'rearranged the sequence of events within entries to improve their narrative flow; he also tightened the prose and cut material which was obviously redundant.' This editing, undertaken in Peking, 'encouraged him to write more simply' and he wrote to Macmillan: 'I have developed a new style I believe, more concise, yet more conversational. This is not a conscious development. It has come of its own accord… I am sacrificing everything to maintain this style at one easy level.'[148] The resultant text encompasses far more genres and styles than most other texts considered within this thesis, and offers a striking contrast to Stark's unified narrative. Knox describes the original diary as 'a compilation of conversations, gossip, art history, architectural and topographical descriptions, and chronological narrative… [written] with publication in mind.'[149] These various forms are replicated in the published work, and it is striking that Byron's revisions sought to replicate some of the informality of the diaries and a sense of being composed on the road, however long the revisions actually took. Nonetheless, the work retains this 'one easy level,' and it is perhaps the unification of fragmentary styles that has drawn so many admirers. Similarly, Byron elides the unsuccessful elements of his travels like Fowle and Sackville-West before him: the charcoal burners are almost wholly expunged, as is Byron's 'initial ignorance of the history and architecture of the region. In the book, there is no reference to his two days spent swotting in the hotel room in Teheran. Instead, he arrives in the country with an impressive command of the subject…'[150] Knox notes that original diary entries were interspersed with discourses on ancient monuments. Byron thus constructs a gifted and erudite narrator, presenting himself as an exemplary scholar; perhaps he wished to avoid allegations (in Curzon's words) of rushing through a country, 'either not having read what has been written by better men before, or, reading it only in order to plagiarize and reproduce it as their own, misunderstand, misspell and misinterpret everywhere they go.'[151]

Knox compares Byron's writing with his contemporary Norman Douglas, of whom Byron was an admirer and with whom he corresponded. Knox labels Byron Douglas' 'natural heir' but perceives Byron's revolutionary prose:

[148] Ibid 356.
[149] Ibid 287.
[150] Ibid 357.
[151] Curzon, *Persia*, Vol. I, 25.

> …by rigidly adhering to the entries of his original diary, he modernized the literary form of the cultivated travel book. His method displayed an indifference to the conventions of storytelling, which, although not without precedent, was, for its time, wholly original. All his contemporaries took the safer route of retailing the experience as a continuous narrative – none more so than Robert's greatest literary rival, Peter Fleming, who only eight months previously had published his classic tale of adventure, *News from Tartary*.[152]

Fleming was another Etonian, had excelled at Oxford, and succeeded in reaching Samarkand, which Byron never did.[153] While Fleming's 'characteristic reticence' won praise, Byron's work is characterised by exuberance and occasional exaggeration.[154] Another relevant comparison which Knox does not draw is Stark's *Valleys*, which takes that 'safer route' of the 'continuous narrative.' Moreover, Curzon's *Persia* offers a possible literary model in its dual aspect for reader and amateur, as discussed above.

Early reviewers did not universally perceive the qualities later readers have praised. *The Geographical Journal* review complains: 'Occasionally the book is disfigured by an ill-timed flippancy, and there is too much insistence on the diseases from which he and his companion suffered.' However the reviewer does appreciate the 'really beautiful photographs and two sketch-maps,' concedes the book is 'interesting' and that Byron 'does succeed in conveying the fascination of these countries with their strange contrasts of bare deserts and beautiful mountain valleys.' The architectural descriptions, however, are criticized for being 'too detailed and technical for the ordinary reader.'[155] *The Times Literary Supplement* review considers Rosita Forbes' *Forbidden Road – Kabul to Samarkand* alongside Byron's *Oxiana*. Forbes is, in comparison with Byron, held to be 'superficial' with 'colourful' style, but credited with creating 'picture that is instructive as well as animated.' Byron, on the other hand, is praised for his prose which is 'economical and edged,' and his 'delicate appreciation of colour.' On the less academic passages of the work, the reviewer notes the 'profusion of more mundane pleasures':

> His encounters and mishaps are chronicled with malicious gusto, and a remarkable capacity to enjoy and to reproduce the incongruity of human contacts on the road.

[152] Knox 359.
[153] Ibid 359.
[154] Ibid 361.
[155] S. E. H., Untitled Review, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (October 1937), p.376.

> Faintly atrabilious but consistently urbane, he takes material which Mrs. Forbes would have fashioned in "a good story" and leaves an inconclusive but somehow memorable pastiche.

Overall, the work is held to be 'learned' and 'entertaining.'[156] At the 1937 National Book Fair *Oxiana* 'was awarded a gold medal as the outstanding travel book of the year.'[157] It was only after Byron's death at sea in 1941 that the process of immortalizing the work and the writer began.

In his 1946 text *Four Studies in Loyalty*, Christopher Sykes presented a biographical sketch of Byron which established the writer as a iconic genius. He writes that: 'Delight in travel has for long been an English characteristic, but among the young men of the 'twenties the cult became an obsession. We were both obsessed strongly.'[158] He adds that Byron 'lived more intensely than any other man I had known.'[159] Focusing on Byron's writing style, Sykes considers Byron's early books, and labels *Oxiana* 'that classic of travel-literature and art-history' less than a decade after its first publication.[160] He continues effusively: 'I have not the slightest doubt that it can be declared a masterpiece: a little classic of art history, of humanism and travel.'[161] Interestingly, Christopher Sykes recalls Percy Sykes telling Byron 'he felt he had underestimated the importance of his achievement, and Robert seemed impressed when he said this, impressed with the justice of the criticism rather than with the compliment.'[162] Sykes was just the first of many to dwell on Byron's writing and to a similar degree his personality, imbuing his portrait with a tragic intensity in the light of Byron's premature death. Later critics similarly considered Byron's prose as much as his personality, and 'humanism.'

Oxiana was first republished in 1950, and in 1980 considered by the early critic of travel-writing, Paul Fussell, whose analysis again emphasises prose and personality. Fussell subjects particular passages to close reading, including the description of

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[156] 'The Oxus and Beyond: Travellers' tales from Central Asia,' *The Times Literary Supplement*, anonymous review of *The Road to Oxiana* with Rosita Forbes' *Forbidden Road – Kabul to Samarkand* (Saturday, April 17, 1937) Issue 1837, 287.
[157] Knox 363.
[158] Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies in Loyalty* (London: Collins, 1946), p.83.
[159] Ibid 179.
[160] Ibid 86.
[161] Ibid 128.
[162] Ibid 129.

Gumbad-i-Kabus which begins 'A tapering cylinder of café-au-lait brick springs…' also analysed by Knox and Braaksma.[163] Fussell writes that this 'fixed, inert object [is] rendered so kinetic by its art that it can be described only in the language of movement,' and considers Byron's response 'superb prose: precise, clear, and magical the way its own devices of motion recognise the life of its subject.'[164] On the construction of the work, Fussell acknowledges Byron's attempt to maintain 'the verisimilitude' of the book being his original diary 'by adding in brackets, as if on an entirely different occasion' a paragraph written by Byron in China, in which he claims to hold the same high opinion of the tower as he had in Persia. Drawing on Christopher Sykes' portrait, Fussell emphasises the revisions undertaken: three years of hard labour, 'Acton reports, "to obtain an effect of spontaneity."' The image of ten-hour days of writing in Peking has been contradicted by Knox's biography; Knox believes Byron spent five months revising the whole.[165] Fussell sees Byron's combination of daily pressures of travel 'and the "low"' and 'essayistic points' as a mastery of 'the secret of the travel book.'[166] Alongside this critical study, Fussell creates a colourful portrait of Byron, saying he 'was monomaniacal and doubtless slightly mad, carrying in him, as Anthony Powell remembers, "something of the genuine 19th century Englishman – a type even in those days all but extinguished in unmitigated form – the eccentricity, curiosity, ill temper, determination to stop at absolutely nothing."'[167] Fussell describes Byron as upper class and 'distantly related to Lord Byron,' while Knox's first chapter of his biography is entitled 'No Relation.'[168] In terms of Byron's sexuality too, Fussell's conclusion that he was 'perhaps less homosexual than neuter' is challenged by Knox's description of Byron's relationships with Desmond Parsons and others.[169]

Above all, Fussell emphasises Byron's moral compass: 'At unceasing war with pomposity and self-satisfaction, he is a hero among travellers.'[170] Arguably, the travel book in Byron's hands is 'deeply infused with his humanistic curiosity.' For Fussell,

[163] *Oxiana* 230. Knox 317. Braaksma 96.
[164] Fussell 105.
[165] Ibid 95-6.
[166] Ibid 96.
[167] Ibid 77.
[168] Ibid 80.
[169] Ibid 81.
[170] Ibid 79.

Oxiana 'is his masterpiece, but all nine of his books dramatize the action of the disciplined moral intelligence beleaguered by stupidity, convention, received error, greed, provincialism, nationalism, and aggression.'[171] Above all this hero-worship, however, it is Fussell's literary epigraph on *Oxiana* which is recycled, even to the cover of the recent Penguin Classics edition: 'Its distinction tempts one to overpraise, but perhaps it may not be going too far to say that what *Ulysses* is to the novel between the wars and what *The Waste Land* is to poetry, *The Road to Oxiana* is to the travel book.'[172] This statement is predicated on the shared method of the three texts:

> [*Oxiana*] as if obsessed with frontiers and fragmentations… juxtaposes into a sort of collage the widest variety of rhetorical materials: news clippings, public signs and notices, letters, bureaucratic documents likes *fiches*, diary entries, learned dissertations in art history, essays on current politics, and, most winningly, at least 20 comic dialogues – some of them virtually playlets – of impressive finish and point…[173]

Thus *Oxiana* becomes the prototype and simultaneously the masterpiece of modernist travel-writing. Certainly no other British travel-writer on Persia comes close to Byron's commitment to the techniques of modernism, although Sackville-West utilizes a stream-of-consciousness narrative, and some such as Moore blend genres. In Fussell's praise of *Oxiana* one sees the appreciation of the prose above any other factor of travel-writing, whether pioneering travel, cartography, religious conversion, or domestic, diplomatic or military successes. Despite his comment regarding Stark that a travel-writer should 'be equally interested in (1) the travel and (2) the writing,' the relatively mainstream quality of Byron's travels within Persia are not seen as problematic.[174] As *The Geographical Journal* notes Byron 'is by no means the first European to visit most of the places which he describes.'[175] Instead, Byron's work enables Fussell to undertake 'an excursus on the civilized act of literary traveling, as opposed to mere physical exploring: the one is an affair of the mind, the other of the body.'[176] Travel literature, then, has transformative qualities of its own, and the ability of the text to transport the reader mentally outweighs the scale of travels, discoveries, adventurousness, achievements. Thus Byron's work is evaluated on quite different

[171] Ibid 79.
[172] Ibid 95.
[173] Ibid 108.
[174] Ibid 197.
[175] S. E. H., Untitled Review, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (October1937), p.376.
[176] Fussell 106.

bases to his predecessors, and purpose and appreciation of travel-writing have shifted on their axes.

Other hagiographic readings of the work have appeared in the introductions to various editions since the early 1980s: Bruce Chatwin in 1980; Fussell in 1982; William Dalrymple in 2003; Rory Stewart in 2006; and Colin Thubron in 2007. One notes that all these writers – prolific on their own terms – are men. Twentieth-century women travel-writers – including Dervla Murphy, Jan Morris, Rebecca West – have not written similar introductions to the work. This raises various questions: to what extent is travel-writing still a gender demarcated field, in which male travel-writers perpetuate the mythologies surrounding their male predecessors, while women's texts are still side-lined? As this thesis has made clear, even in an unfamiliar field such as British travel-writing on Persia, a variety of intriguing, entertaining, problematic and/or literary women's texts exist to counterpoint male voices. Nonetheless, responses to Byron's *Oxiana* make clear how much work remains to be done not only to reclaim women's travelogues, but also to enable women travel-writers to analyse men's works, and vice versa. For Chatwin, *Oxiana* inspired his own travels, is 'the masterpiece' of travel-writing from the 1930s,[177] and, against the upheavals of Iranian and Afghan politics of 1980, vitally relevant again:

> This is the year – of all years – to mourn the loss of Robert Byron, the arch-enemy of Appeasement, who said, 'I shall have warmonger put on my passport,' when he saw what the Nazis were up to. Were he alive today, I think he would agree that, in time (everything in Afghanistan takes time), the Afghans will do something quite dreadful to their invaders – perhaps awaken the sleeping giants of Central Asia.[178]

In 1979, the year before Chatwin wrote these lines, the Pahlavis had left Iran which soon became an Islamic Republic under Khomeni, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, and in 1980 the Iran-Iraq war began. William Dalrymple's 2003 review of Knox's biography makes clear his own loyalty to Byron, and admiration of his 'breathtaking

[177] Bruce Chatwin, 'A Lament for Afghanistan, *What Am I Doing Here* (London: Vintage Books, 2005), 286-93, pp.286-7.The bibliographical note to this work describes the passage as coming originally from 'the Penguin edition of *The Road to Oxiana*' and dates the text to 1980. The British Library catalogue, however, lists Chatwin's introduction to *Oxiana* as belonging in the 1981 Picador edition.
[178] Chatwin 293.

prose', citing Fussell's *Waste Land/Ulysses* comparison.[179] Travel-writer Rory Stewart's 2007 introduction to *Oxiana* punctures some of the eulogising of for example Chatwin, but again Byron's entire character is held up as exemplary.[180] His writing is admired for its break with tradition, but most of all the writer is admired for his 'hatred of cant,' his loathing of 'meanness of spirit and philistinism' and his fighting of 'barbarism not only the derivative municipal buildings in Camden but in the entire edifice of the Third Reich. At its best this book alters not only the ways in which we travel, write, or understand Islamic architecture, but our sense of what it means to be civilized in the modern age.'[181] Colin Thubron too points out some of Byron's less appealing traits.[182] Thubron uniquely considers Byron's predecessors, saying 'earlier travellers to Persia, like Lord Curzon, leave no perceptible trace,' which has been discussed and contradicted earlier in this section.[183] Thubron's piece again emphases the fragmented form, the 'meticulous craft,' and notes the esteem in which it is held.[184] Incidentally, Thubron has named Stark's *Ionia* as his favourite travel book; and Dalrymple selected Chatwin's *In Patagonia*.[185]

Of all the texts considered within this thesis, *Oxiana* has the most prolific afterlife, and I would not want to suggest that it is undeserving of praise. Its status is problematic, however, if it stifles a desire to explore other travelogues, contemporary or otherwise, on Persia or anywhere else in the world. Moreover, its achievement is clarified rather than simply diminished through an understanding of the works of his predecessors, especially on Persia. An understanding of the field of British travel-writing on Persia which precedes Byron not only opens up a field for further critical exploration, but also makes clearer the extent to which Byron, in the words of Fussell, re-defined 'the genre "travel book"' enabling us 'to recognize that here is a literary

[179] William Dalrymple, 'The Road to Inspiration,' http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2003/nov/08/featuresreviews.guardianreview5, accessed 16 August 2011.
[180] Rory Stewart, *The Places in Between* (London: Picador, 2004).
[181] Rory Stewart, 'Preface,' *The Road to Oxiana* by Robert Byron (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pages unnumbered.
[182] Colin Thubron, 'Introduction,' *The Road to Oxiana* by Robert Byron (London: Penguin, 2007), p.x.
[183] Ibid xi.
[184] Ibid v.
[185] 'My favourite travel book, by the world's greatest travel writers,' http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2011/sep/16/travel-writers-favourite-books?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487, accessed 27 March 2012.

kind which, although presumably "non-fiction," provides opportunities for the richest kind of imaginative genius to exercise itself.'[186]

5.5 Conclusion

This final chapter has sought to create a greater parity between Stark's and Byron's works in critical studies of travel-writing. Both were influenced by the 1931 exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House. Both were connected to a long-standing sphere of Persophiles, particularly Percy Sykes. For both, Persia was an interest for a period of time, rather than a lifelong obsession, and both produced works on Persia which are heralded for their writing style. Where Stark draws various experiences together in a unified prose, Byron's equally crafted text uses fragmentation for its impact. Stark travelled to relatively unknown areas of Persia and mapped them, while Byron's destinations were on the whole more familiar to British readers. In the case of Byron, this analysis has suggested that the generous praise of *Oxiana* can and should be tempered or refined with a greater emphasis placed on the minutiae of his travel and commonplace aspects of the text's production. Stark, who went on to write many more excellent travelogues, presents in her later life more connections which demonstrate the interconnected world of British travel-writing on Persia well into the middle of the twentieth century. Like Percy Sykes, Stark received the Royal Geographical Society's Back Grant 'for her cartographic accomplishments.'[187] Furthermore in 1951, the Central Asian Society announced that Stark would receive the 'Percy Molesworth Sykes Memorial Medal' which had been established by his family after his death. The medal laid greater emphasis on 'research and letters' than the CAS's other medal, the Lawrence medal, which was given in recognition of 'exploration with risk' and restricted to British nationals.[188] Stark's later career connected her with Harold Nicolson and Vita Sackville-West too: Nicolson is mentioned in Stark's autobiography of WWII which appeared in 1961,

[186] Fussell, 'Introduction,' *The Road to Oxiana* by Robert Byron (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pages unnumbered. Originally written 1982.
[187] Geniesse xvi.
[188] Leach, *Strolling About*, 188 and Geniesse 346. Sykes had been Honorary Secretary of the CAS from 1932 until his death in 1945. Leach, *Strolling About*, 187-8, 193. The 1999 recipient of the Sykes Memorial Medal from the Royal Society for Asian Affairs was Peter Hopkirk, author of the history *The Great Game: On secret service in High Asia* (1990; London: John Murray, 2006) which has been used throughout this thesis.

and Stark dedicated *Ionia* to the pair.[189] Stark's first autobiography, *Traveller's Prelude*, was published in October 1950. Sackville-West claimed to be 'too abashed' to review the work, and wrote instead an effusive open letter to Stark: 'I am the sparrow watching your eagle; the mouse lying between the paws of your lion.'[190] Byron's erstwhile travel companion Christopher Sykes wrote in the *Observer* that Stark was 'a great writer and this is a great book.'[191]

[189] Freya Stark, *Dust in the Lion's Paw* (London: John Murray, 1961), pp.228 and 280. Stark, *Ionia: A quest* (London: John Murray, 1954).
[190] Geniesse 345-6. Vita Sackville-West, 'A Letter to Freya Stark,' *Spectator*, November 24th 1950.
[191] Geniesse 346. Christopher Sykes, 'Self-Portrait,' *Observer*, October 8th 1950.

Conclusion

Various considerations warn us against expecting a long future life for the literature of travel. In the first place, loss of the sense of distance as a result of the greater ease and comfort of modern transport is bound to exercise a deadening effect on the interest taken by people in travelling as a precious experience.[1]

In February 1941, Robert Byron, working as a war correspondent, was travelling towards Alexandria. On 24th February the ship he was on was torpedoed by a German U-boat. Byron died less than four years after the publication of *The Road to Oxiana*. Friends and family in London were left uncertain of his fate for some time, and Harold Nicolson 'claimed to have seen him walking up St James's Street in his customary suit and bowler' later that summer.[2] As the analysis of the last chapter has shown, late-twentieth century male travel writers have looked to Byron for inspiration on many levels, without necessarily realising the extent to which he looked to his literary fathers who had written on Persia. To a lesser extent, women writers on Persia thought back through their mothers. Mary Hume-Griffith was influenced by Ella Sykes, who in turn cites Isabella Bishop's text, while Vita Sackville-West reviewed her successor Freya Stark warmly. This thesis has revealed the intertextuality of British travelogues on Persia reflecting the small and highly interconnected network of British travellers, diplomats, military figures and missionaries in Persia from 1890 to 1940, as well as the concentrated pool of knowledge on the country from which travellers drew – most preeminent within that, Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question*. The second substantial conclusion this thesis draws is that the impact of Curzon's text was greater than his biographers or literary scholars have yet appreciated. It is hard to think of another text which shapes so profoundly travel-writing on one country for decades after publication.

From Curzon's compendium, which functions as travelogue, guide-book, and introduction to Persian history, architecture, culture, and contemporary politics, British travel-writing on Persia rapidly evolved. Through study of many hitherto forgotten texts and the annotated bibliography which forms Appendix A, this thesis

[1] Braaksma 116.
[2] Knox 436.

has revealed the rapid expansion in the motivations and enabling agents of travel to Persia from 1890 to 1940, and the expansion of ways in which knowledge on Persia was disseminated: from newspapers and books, to speeches, societies, and films. The assumed knowledge of the implied reader expanded, as the assumed interest of the reader turned from political or cartographic information. From the advisory and information-rich *fin-de-siècle* texts considered, British travel-writing on Persia becomes ideologically engaged, as writers seek to alter the position of Persian women, and then the system of government. Travel-writing on Persia then, seeking to present the contemporary upheavals of the Constitutional Revolution and WWI, adopts a more journalistic tone, utilizing various sources to present a picture sometimes broader than the individual writer's experience. With Reza Pahlavi's rise to power a new stability in Persia freed writers from presenting political analysis within their works. The literary concerns of Sackville-West, Stark and Byron were not, however, unpredictable innovations. This thesis traces writers' increasing concern with the appeal of a travelogue to their implied reader, and this is substantiated through the reviews that have been discussed. Another conclusion this thesis proposes it that travel literature is more likely to emerge when a country is familiar to the audience through newspaper reports, travelogues and increasingly accessible travel, as suggested by the discussion of Mark Twain and Robert Louis Stevenson's travelogues alongside Fowle's work in Chapter 3. Such a hypothesis needs further investigation on a range of texts beyond Persia, and there is of course more than mere timing to the creation of travel literature. Sackville-West, Stark and Byron's works are the product of the literary skills of the authors, combined with the rich potential of the country to inspire travellers, at a time of wider literary innovation, and profound international fascination with Persian art. The rapid evolution of British writing on Persia from Curzon's compendium to Byron's masterpiece, both profoundly influential texts in quite different ways, offers a remarkable case study: from travelogues to travel literature in fifty years.

The theoretical approach of this thesis, its temporal and geographical focus, might be of use to others, who might develop more nuanced ways of exploring of the relationship between two countries through the experiences of travellers and travel-writing. Furthermore, the texts analysed in the chapters and the annotated bibliography might well provoke further discussion on British travel-writing on

Persia, a genre which offers so much potential for further literary analysis. Returning to Braaksma's works used as an epigraph in the Introduction, one sees present in the travelogues considered within this thesis the particular interest Persia offers, 'romantic… commercial… archaeological… missionary… religious.'[3] One can easily refute the claim made by David McLean in relation to E. G. Browne that 'Persia never really captured the public imagination.'[4]

The political engagement of so much travel-writing on Persia from 1890 to 1940 highlights the extent to which Britain engaged with internal Persian/Iranian affairs during 1890-1940. Indeed this intervention dates back to the very beginning of the nineteenth century, through the economic concessions of the later nineteenth century, to the Constitutional Revolution, WWI, and the accession of Reza Khan. This thesis' hypothesis that the British government's attitude towards Persia/Iran was imperial in tone if not colonising in practice is substantiated by the texts studied here. This opens the door for further postcolonial interpretation of British writing on Persia, and its connections with British India and Britain's moment in the Middle East. The closing date of this thesis by no means marks the end of British intervention in Iranian politics. Almost exactly six months after Byron's death, Britain and the Soviet Union invaded Iran on 25th August 1941, which had at the beginning of the war declared her neutrality. Donohoe claimed in 1919 that Britain invaded Persia during the Great War 'to defend Persian rights as much as to defend our own cause and the cause of the Allies.'[5] Similarly, the 1941 invasion was ostensibly motivated by combined concerns for Iranian stability and Britain's own successes. As Ferrier writes: 'Although the protection of oil and strategic interests against subversive German activities had been given as the principal reason for the invasion, the need to support and supply the Soviet Union through Iranian territory became in fact the overriding consideration.'[6] Ferrier argues that the abdication of Reza Shah in September 1941 was 'not a premeditated act of British policy, although desired by some British government officials.' This echoes Britain's uncertain participation in his rise to power in 1921.

[3] Braaksma 10.
[4] McLean, 'A Professor Extraordinary,' 407.
[5] Donohoe 64-5.
[6] R. W. Ferrier, 'Anglo-Iranian Relations iii. Pahlavi period,' *EI*, Online Edition, Originally Published: December 15, 1985, Last Updated: August 5, 2011, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anglo-iranian-relations-iii, accessed 1 April 2012. This article is available in print. Vol. II, Fasc. 1, pp.51-59.

Others, including Yamauchi, see more clear-cut motivation for the change in leader: 'As the king was sympathetic to the Germans, the British forced him to abdicate in 1941 in favor of his son.'[7] Stephanie Cronin argues that the invasion reflects a loss of influence over Iranian affairs: 'That Britain and the Soviet Union were obliged to resort to military invasion in 1941 is itself a measure of the degree to which their old ability to intervene politically, to manipulate and control, had been lost.'[8] From November 1941, Ferrier notes, America 'became lightly involved in Iran… supplying aid to the Soviet Union and, more vitally from October 1942, becoming more closely acquainted with the country in the process of manning the Persian Corridor with their allies.'[9] The security of oil supply was paramount, and British troops 'guarded the refinery at Ābādān.' After the war British and American troops left Iran first, with Soviet withdrawal following later. Ferrier argues that: 'Whatever the provocation for or the justification of the controversial entry of Allied forces into Iran during the course of the Second World War, it was deeply resented and did much to cloud Anglo-Iranian relations in the following years, particularly over the oil crisis in 1951.'[10] So many travellers to Persia between 1890 and 1940 read the landscape using biblical references, considering aspects of late-Qajar Persia as belonging to another era. Few late-twentieth century travel-writers would presume to deny the Orient coevality to this extent: the metropolises and political structure of Iran today would make this particularly difficult as would, one imagines, the post-colonial understanding of the writer and readers. Still today, however, travel writers on Iran write in the shadow of western intervention like their predecessors.

Beyond the original parameters of this thesis – British travel-writing on Persia from 1890-1940 – there are various possible areas of further study. Using college and society archives, as well as her own life-writing, it might be possible to construct a biography of Ella Sykes, developing her *ODNB* entry.[11] Furthermore, *Through Persia on a Sidle-Saddle* might be analysed alongside her other travelogues in an effort to

[7] Yamauchi 24.
[8] Stephanie Cronin, Reviewed work(s): *Great Britain and Reza Shah: The Plunder of Iran, 1921-1941* by Mohammad Gholi Majd, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (November 2002), 758-761.
[9] Ferrier, 'Anglo-Iranian Relations iii. Pahlavi period,'
[10] Ibid.
[11] Jonathan Spain, 'Sykes, Ella Constance (1863–1939)', *ODNB*, OUP, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73441, accessed 2 April 2012]

assess more broadly her engagement with Empire and writing style, and the professional openings travel-writing might offer university-educated women at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Moving from the comparative approach to men's and women's travel-writing on Persia, three women's *fin-de-siècle* works might be collectively studied to highlight their representation of being British women in Persia, and their interaction with Persian women both within and outside of Teheran: Sykes' *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle*, Isabella Bishop's *Journeys in Persia*, and Gertrude Bell's *Safar Nameh*. Stark's *Valleys* could be considered alongside later representations of that period of her life, in her autobiography *Beyond Euphrates* and published letters.[12] Stark's oeuvre offers many examples of this revision of experience from travelogue to later life-writing. Furthermore, undiscovered memoirs very probably remain in archives. Yann Richard edited and published C. J. Edmonds' memoir *East and West of Zagros: Travel, War and Politics in Persia and Iraq 1913-1921* in 2010.[13] Edmonds' writes of T. C. Fowle in Basra; the men's political careers crossed paths in the Persian Gulf for many years. Barbara Cooke at the University of East Anglia is completing a thesis entitled 'Oil Men: the twinned lives of Arnold Wilson and Morris Young' which considers their lives and Anglo-Persian relations from 1908 to 1928. A broader overview of British travel-writing on Persia would link the scholarship of academics looking at early-modern travelogues on Persia, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, with those considering Qajar or Pahlavi era works. Bilingual scholars could shed light on the Anglo-Persian relationship through comparison of British and Persian travelogues: Margaret Morris Cloake has translated and edited *A Persian at the Court of King George: The journal of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan*, a study of which would also shed light on Morier's satire of Hajji Baba in England.[14] Nāsir al-Din Shāh's diaries of his tours in Europe might also be studied for their presentation of historical Anglo-Persian relations.[15]

[12] Freya Stark, *Beyond Euphrates* (London: John Murray, 1951).
[13] C. J. Edmonds, *East and West of Zagros: Travel, War and Politics in Persia and Iraq 1913-1921*, edited and with an introduction by Yann Richard (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010).
[14] Margaret Morris Cloake, trans. and ed., *A Persian at the Court of King George: The journal of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1988).
[15] Nāsir al-Din Shāh, *The Diary of H. M. the Shah of Persia during his tour through Europe and in the year* 1873, trans. J. W. Redhouse (London: Murray, 1874); and *A diary kept by His Majesty the Shah of Persia during his journey to Europe in 1878*, trans. Albert Houtum Schindler and Baron Louis de Norman (London: R. Bentley & Son, 1879).

Post-WWII British travel-writing on Iran is not without interest, and might similarly be subject to comparative literary analysis. Given the findings of this thesis, one might look particularly for references to Robert Byron's text, a new literary father through whose text Iran is first encountered by travellers. One might also find references to Alexander, Marco Polo and Hajji Baba; a telescoping of modern politics and ancient Persian history; and a belief of the importance or suitability of western intervention in Iranian politics. Timothy Severin's *Tracking Marco Polo* follows in Sykes' footsteps, both in terms of literary fascination with the Venetian and geographically. The "Marco Polo Route Project" – namely Severin and two others – sought to trace Polo's footsteps in the 1960s, although restrictions on travel in China thwarted their project to an extent. The men travelled by motorbike, echoing Forbes-Leith and his contemporaries early motor journeys, and Severin writes a chapter entitled *Valley of the Assassins*, recalling Stark's famous work.[16] Sarah Hobson's *Through Persia in Disguise* describes her travels in Iran dressed in men's clothing while she studied Persian crafts. [17] Her title recalls a 1911 text, *Through Persia in Disguise with Reminiscences of the Indian Mutiny*.[18] The diaries of the late Colonel Stewart were written up by Basil Stewart, himself a travel writer. Stewart's widow claimed Stewart had been inspired by Morier's stories of his travels in Persia, when he met the elderly Morier in Brighton when Stewart was twelve. Hobson's work might be read in the light of women such as Isabella Bishop and Hume-Griffith using the veil to facilitate their travels in Persia decades before. John Simpson has written *Behind Iranian Lines*.[19] The American Christopher de Bellaigue has published a *In the rose garden of the martyrs: a memoir of Iran*.[20] Jason Elliot's *Mirrors of the Unseen: Journeys in Iran* is especially impressive in its blend of history, architectural study and first-person experience.[21] In his often academic approach, Elliot is aware of many of his traveller predecessors, and mentions Byron regularly. At the house of Louise Firouz, 'an American woman who had married an Iranian aristocrat, moved to Iran in the time of the Shah, and weathered the long and

[16] Timothy Severin, *Tracking Marco Polo* (London: Kegan Paul, 1964).
[17] Sarah Hobson, *Through Persia in Disguise* (London: John Murray, 1973).
[18] Charles E. Stewart, *Through Persia in Disguise with Reminiscences of the Indian Mutiny* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1911).
[19] John Simpson, *Behind Iranian Lines* (London : Robson, 1988).
[20] Christopher de Bellaigue, *In the rose garden of the martyrs: a memoir of Iran* (London: HarperCollins, 2004).
[21] Jason Elliot, *Mirrors of the Unseen: Journeys in Iran* (London: Picador, 2006).

stormy years of the revolution,' Elliot admires her bookshelves: 'A glance at the spines revealed all the best books on Persia art and history, all first editions by the look of it and all deliciously out of date: Herzfeldt, Ghirshman, Godard, Porada, Auriel Stein, E. G. Browne, Sykes, Tarn, Ackerman, Ettinghausen, and, I noticed with a pang, all fifteen volumes of Arthur Upham Pope's *Survey of Persian Art*, the Golden Fleece of Iranophiles.'[22] The lineage of Persophiles and their work extends even to twenty-first century Iranophiles. This thesis has suggested that late-Victorian texts on Persia are not so distant as the reader of re-publications of Sackville-West, Stark, Byron and even later writers might suppose. Threads of connections – both biographical and textual – exist between writers who are familiar to modern readers, and those whose works have, until now, slipped into obscurity.

The most interesting critical lacuna revealed by this research, however, has been the need for an analysis of British travellers' presentation of their knowledge of Persia through other genres, including fictional works presented as true translations of a Persian autobiography. Not content with writing as expert travellers, these writers seek another form through which to demonstrate their knowledge and writing prowess. The fictional autobiographies often claim to be translations of Persian sources, rather than fiction rooted in familiarity with the society in which the work is based, and British readers were sometimes convinced by the ruse. The impact of Morier's *Hajji Baba* on later travellers is clear, and there are other writers who attempt similar fictional autobiographies on Persians as an exercise in witty erudition. Morier published additional fictional texts drawing on his knowledge of Persia, as well as Mirza Abul Hassan's time in England.[23] Around the same time as Morier's successes, James Baille Fraser published both travelogues and fiction drawing on his time in Persia.[24] Charles James Wills, another prolific nineteenth-century travel-writer, published the fictional *Behind an Eastern Veil* in 1894.[25] Percy Sykes' *The*

[22] Elliot 98.
[23] James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England* (London: John Murray, 1828); *Zohrab the Hostage* (London: 1832); *The Mirza* (London: 1841); and *Misselmah: A Persian tale* (Brighton, 1847).
[24] These include *The Kuzzilbash: A Tale of Khorasan.* (London: 1828); *The Persian Adventurer; being the sequel of "The Kuzzilbash."* (London: 1830); *Allee Neemroo, the Buchtiaree Adventurer. A tale of Louristan.* (London: 1842); and *The Dark Falcon. A tale of the Attruck* (London: 1844).
[25] Charles James Wills, *Behind an Eastern Veil: A plain tale of events occurring in the experience of a lady* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1894).

Glory of the Shia World (1910) derives from Morier's *Hajji Baba.*[26] Christopher Sykes' *Four Studies in Loyalty* (1946) has already been mentioned within this thesis for its depiction of Byron.[27] The work also includes a portrait of Bahram Kirmani, 'either an invented character or a composite of members of the Qajar or a tribal family, a character so embellished that the author can make his political statement.'[28] Within this section, Sykes writes: 'Persia is an overwhelming and terrible memorial to the transitoriness of earthly things.'[29] Similarly, Christopher Sykes and Byron's collaborative work, *Innocence and Design*, might be studied for its fictionalised portrayal of Reza Shah as Potshaw, the ruling tyrant of Media.[30] Thus far, this use of fiction and biografiction by travel-writers seems to be an exclusively male preserve, although further research might offer other examples. Another important area of research is the influence of Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, and the extent to which translations were available in Britain. It is necessary moreover to establish whether knowledge of other nations produced such texts, or whether Persia alone inspired travellers to revisit their experiences in such varied forms. As Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question* shaped British travellers and their texts, so does Morier's *Hajji Baba* profoundly impact on British preconceptions about the Persian character. These fictional autobiographies draw heavily on traveller's knowledge, but their relationship with the fiction of the era remains to be explored. It would be interesting, for example, to explore whether the episodic nature of *Hajji Baba* forms a late example of picaresque fiction. Furthermore, one wonders to what extent these fictional autobiographies are themselves acts of literary imperialism. Through their depiction of a "true" Persian character, do these texts colonise Persian voices and imply the depth and clarity of their own understanding of Persia and its people? To what extent are the works burdened or stilted by the weight of knowledge the British writer wishes to convey, or do they succeed as entertaining narratives? It is to these questions that I hope to turn in my future research.

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[26] Percy Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World: The tale of a pilgrimage, translated & edited from a Persian manuscript by P. M. Sykes; assisted by Khan Bahadur Ahmad Din Khan* (London: Macmillan, 1910).
[27] Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies in Loyalty* (1946; London: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1986).
[28] Cyrus Ghani, *Iran and the West: A critical bibliography* (Washington: Mage, 2006), pp.360-1.
[29] Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies*, 41.
[30] Richard Waughburton [pseud.], *Innocence and Design* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1935).

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Appendix A: Annotated Bibliography: British travel-writing, autobiographies, histories, bibliographies and general studies relating to Persia[1]

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1700-1800

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[1] This appendix is intended to prove the extent and variety of British travel-writing on Persia, and particularly the mass of publications during the years this thesis explores. For reasons of space, this appendix is restricted to works published in book form, and not the many articles in newspapers and journals. As the chapters demonstrate, however, British travelogues on Persia often had their roots in newspaper and magazine articles. Furthermore, the records of the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Central Asian Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and others contain many articles related to Persian travel.

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Stack, Edward. *Six Months in Persia*. London: Sampson Low & Co., 1882.

Stern, Henry Aaron. *Dawnings of Light in the East; with biblical, historical, and statistical notices of persons and places in Persia, Coordistan and Mesopotamia.* London: 1854.

Stocqueler, J. H. *Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage through… Khuzistan and Persia, in a journey from India to England, through parts of Turkish Arabi.* 1832.

_____. *The Memoirs of a Journalist*. London & Bombay: Times of India, 1873.

Stuart, Charles. *Journal of a Residence in Northern Persia and the adjacent provinces of Turkey.* London: Richard Bentley, 1854.

Tancoigne, J. M. *A Narrative of a Journey into Persia, and residence at Teheran; containing a descriptive itinerary from Constantinople to the Persian Capital, also a variety of anecdotes illustrative of the history, commerce, religion, manners, customs of the inhabitants, etc.* London: 1820.

Thielmann, Max. *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey in Asia. 2 vol*. London: John Murray, 1875.

Thomas, William and S. A. Roy, trans. *Travels to Tana and Persia, by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini.* Ed. and introduction by Lord Stanley of Alderley. London: Hakluyt Society, 1873.

Thonnelier, J. trans. *Kitabi Kulsum Naneh ou le Livre Des Dames de la Perse, contenant les Règles de leurs mœrs, usages et superstitions d'Intérieur. Traduit et Annoté par J. Thonnelier. Nouvelle Édition.* Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881.

Ussher, John. *A Journey from London to Persepolis; including wanderings in Daghestan, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia and Persia*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1865.

Vaux, W. S. W. *Ancient History from the Monuments. Persia, from the earliest period to the Arab conquest.* London, Oxford: Christian Knowledge Society, 1875.

Vigne, Godfrey. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the mountain-course of the Indus, and the Himalaya, North of the Punjab. 2 vol.* London: 1842.

Wagner, Moritz. *Travels in Persia, Georgia, and Koordistan: with Sketches of the Cossacks and the Caucasus*. *3 vols*. Translated from the German. London, 1856.

Waring, Edward. *A Tour to Sheeraz by the rout of Kazroon and Feerozabad. With various remarks on the manners, customs, laws, language and literature of the Persians, to which is added a history of Persia, from the death of Kureem Khan to the subversion of the Zund dynasty.* Bombay: Courier Press, 1804.

Watson, Robert Grant. *A history of Persia from the beginning of the 19th century to the year 1858: with a review of the principal events that led to the establishment of the Kajar Dynasty.* London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1866.

Wilbraham, Richard. *Travels in the Trans-Caucasian Provinces of Russia, and along the south shores of the Lakes of Van and Urumiah.*. London: 1839.

Wills, Charles James. *Land of the Lion and the Sun; or, Modern Persia: being experiences of life in Persia from 1866-1881.* London: Macmillan & Co., 1883.

_____. *Persia as it is. Being sketches of modern Persian Life and Character.* London: Sampson Low & Co., 1886.

Wolff, Joseph. *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews, Mohammedans, and other sects, by the Rev. Joseph Wolff, during his travels between the years 1831 and 1834, from Malta to Egypt, Constantinople, etc.* London: J. Nisbet, 1835.

_____. *Narrative of a mission to Bokhara, in the years 1843-1845, to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. 2 vol.* London: John W. Parker, 1845.

_____. *Travels and Adventures of J. W.. 2 vol.* London: Saunders, Otley, 1860-61.

1890-1900

Ainsworth, William. *The River Karun: an opening to British commerce.* London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1890.

Dedicated to the Marquess of Salisbury 'to whose enlightened initiative the opening of the River Karun to the commerce of the world is due.' Ainsworth claims the significance of the opening in terms

of British trade and rivalry with Russia. The book describes in detail the topography of the Karun and its surroundings, nearby towns, cities and monuments, and relevant history.

Bell, Gertrude. *Safar Nameh. Persian Pictures. A book of travel.* London: R. Bentley and Son, 1894.

First published anonymously, this work stems from Bell's letters home written during her 1892 visit to Persia to stay with the British Minister Frank Lascelles, whose wife was Bell's stepmother's sister. The work comprises twenty vignettes of Persian life, with almost no autobiographical elements. Bell followed this work with her translation of Hafiz, which was published in 1897 and long-revered.

Biddulph, Cuthbert Edward. *Four Months in Persia, and a Visit to Trans-Caspia.* London & Bombay: Kegan Paul and Co., 1892.

Biddulph, member of the 'uncovenanted Civil Service of India,' publishes this collection of articles 'which have been contributed by the author to various Indian papers and to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, *United Service Magazine*, &c., &c.' These are rendered in a continuous narrative describing his visit in 1891. Biddulph describes Teheran in some detail, and also Kasvin, the deserts, some Persian history, Ispahan and, en route back to Teheran, Qum. The work also contains descriptions of 'A Visit to Trans-Caspia in 1890.'

Bigham, Charles. *A Ride Through Western Asia*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897.

Bigham had served with the Grenadier Guards, was 'until recently… Honorary Attaché to the British embassy at St. Petersburg', and at the time of publication worked for war correspondent for 'one of the principal English newspapers.' (Note) Part II of the work is on 'Persia North to South' including Tabreez, Enzeli, Resht, Teheran, Isfahan, Persepolis, Shiraz, Shuster and the Karun river. Part IV of the work is on 'Persia West to East' and descrives Kurdistan, Khorasan and Meshed. The work is not especially noteworthy.

Bird, Mary. *Persian Women and Their Creed.* London: Church Missionary Society, 1899.

The CMS missionary Bird reveals her sense of divine inspiration which led her to write this book, 'to use my pen and tell of what *He* has done and is doing in a dark Moslem land.' The work offers some history of missionary work in Persia, and some interesting photographs, but is almost overwhelming in its Christian piety and prejudice towards Islam. Nonetheless its anecdotes reveal the type of interaction between missionaries and Persians during the 1890s.

Bishop, Mrs [Isabella L. Bird]. *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan, Including a Summer in the upper Karun Region and a Visit to the Nestorian Rayahs. 2 vol.* London: John Murray, 1891.

The sixty-year-old widow travelled with Major Herbert Sawyer in the winter of 1889-90 on an extremely challenging journey, after which Sawyer invited Bishop to join him as he journeyed amongst the Bakhtiaris. Her descriptions of the Bakhtiari tribes are one of the most striking elements of her work, which takes a diary form.

Browne, Edward Granville. *A Year Amongst the Persians: impressions as to the life, character, & thought of the people of Persia received during twelve months' residence in that country in the years 1887-1888*. London: A. C. & Black, 1893.

Unique opening: its Exordium, 'Dedicated to the Persian reader only, in the name of God, the Merciful, the Forgiving' (Allah), quotes the Koran, and concludes 'Wa's-salam.' Browne's twelve-month 1887-8 journey is the familiar north-south route through Tabriz, Teheran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Yezd and Kirman. Browne's introduction explains his career to date and his fascination with Eastern languages. His knowledge of Persian is made clear in the Persian epigraphs to chapters and his discussion of dialects. Browne also writes in detail about the Babis. The work was not immediately successful, but has been repeatedly republished.

Collins, Edward. *In the Kingdom of the Shah.* London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

Collins describes his 1894 journey to Persia, undertaken with his wife almost immediately after their wedding, in response to a telegram from the eldest son of the Shah who wished to consult Collins about an eye infection. Collins reveals in his travelogue what 'travelling *en luxe* in Persia is like.' The work includes descriptions of Collins' wife's interaction with a Persian princess, as well as Collins' general medical work in Isfahan. The work contains many interesting details of sites visited, and a useful index.

Cowper, Henry Swainson. *Through Turkish Arabia: a journey from the Mediterranean to Bombay by the Euphrates and Tigris valleys and the Persian Gulf.* London: W. H. Allen, 1894.

Cowper took the Euphrates caravan route from Aleppo to Baghdad, one previously described by Lady Anne Blunt, and few others. Chapters XVI and XVII describe 'The Persian Gulf' including details of recent history, trade and telegraph stations.

Curzon, George Nathaniel. *Persia and the Persian Question. 2 vol.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892.

The single most influential text on Persia from the 1890s, written by Curzon – then MP and later Viceroy of India. The two-volume work is part guide-book, part-travelogue, with historical, political and artistic treatises and a detailed map.

De Windt, Harry. *A Ride to India across Persia and Baluchistán.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1891.

De Windt's initial plan to travel to India via Merv and Cabul is thwarted by Russian bureaucracy in Tiflis (Tbilisi) and instead he travels through Persia. De Windt writing is lively as he describes his journey from north to south.

Gordon, Thomas Edward. *Persia Revisited.* London, New York: Edward Arnold, 1896.

General Sir Thomas was former military attaché and Oriental Secretary to the Legation in Teheran, and had revisited the country shortly before the assassination of Shah Nasr-ed-Din. His work comprises a travelogue and record of notable improvements in Persian infrastructure, as well as commentary on the accession of the new Shah. Gordon comments on matters as varied as oil-wells in Baku, the telegraph in Persia, the Babi sect, and the British minster's St. Bernard dogs, Dido and Rex.

Harris, Walter. *From Batum to Baghdad, via Tiflis, Tabriz and Persian Kurdistan.* Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1896.

Dedicated to the Prince of Wales, the book explicitly avoids 'the vexed question of the Armenians' and is instead 'merely the record of my travels.' (Preface) Most of Harris' route lies within the extreme north-west of Persia, near Tabriz and lake Urumiah and as far south as Kermanshah. The work combines history and travelogue, and is particularly interesting for its depiction of that rarely visited region.

Hodgetts, E. A. Brayley. *Round about Armenia: the record of a journey across the Balkans through Turkey, the Caucasus, and Persia in 1895.* Sampson Low, Marston and Co, 1896.

Hodgetts' Preface unusually states that this book is 'in no sense a reprint of the letters which appeared in the *Daily Graphic* in the first half of last year, but is a consecutive record of my travels in the East in 1895, written in the light of the most recent events.' These were the massacres of Armenians in Asia Minor. A small portion of the book describes the north-west of Persia, Resht and Tabreez.

Jackson, A. V. Williams. *Zoroaster: The prophet of Ancient Iran.* London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1899.

From the preface: 'This work deals with the life and legend of Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, the representative and type of the laws of the Medes and Persians, the Master whose teaching the Parsis to-day still faithfully follow. It is a biographical study based on tradition; tradition is a phase of history, and it is the purpose of the volume to present the picture of Zoroaster as far as possible in its historic light.' (vii) The first half of the book takes the form of a history / biography; the second half is a collection of appendices dealing with more technical issues such as 'Dr. West's Tables of Zoroastrian Chronology' and 'Notes on Sculptures supposed to represent Zoroaster.'

Marcus, Nestorius Khnaaneshoo. *A Persian in Scotland: being the story of the life of Nestorius Marcus of Urumia, Persia, student of divinity at the University of Edinburgh, written by himself with some account of Persian life and customs*. Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb Ltd., 1898.

R. Flint, Professor of Divinity, writes a warm Prefatory Note on his erstwhile student, who has made 'most praiseworthy progress in knowledge of the English language and of theological science.' The work includes details of Marcus' upbringing in Persia. His father was educated at the American Missionaries' College at Urumia in north-west Persia, where he married a Christian Persian. Marcus' father died in London and was buried in Highgate. Marcus converted to Christianity and then began his travels. The work ends with Marcus' descriptions of London, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Maxwell, Herbert. *The Hon. Sir Charles Murray: A Memoir*. Edinburgh & London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1898.

Sir Charles Murray was appointed ambassador to the Court of the Shah of Persia in 1854. After a catastrophic break in relations during the Anglo-Persian War of 1886-7, for which much responsibility was laid at Murray's door by the British Press, Murray returned to the position of ambassador and held it until 1859.

Morier, James. *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. Illustrated by H. R. Millar, with an introduction by the Hon. G. Curzon.* London: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

_____. *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. 2 vol. With an introduction by E.G. Browne.* London: Methuen, 1895.

Nisbet, Hume. *A Desert Bride: a story of adventures in India and Persia.* London: F. V. White & Co., 1894.

Nisbet describes 'two brave yet extraordinary young men, who… went out to the world of India in search of adventures – and riches, of course.' (Preface) They seek the Peacock Throne which once

belonged to Shah Jehan of Delhi and, they believe, now rests in Persia. Jack Bangles (and his mother) and Ronald Macivor face various challenges in this highly fictional adventure yarn.

Perrot, Georges. *History of art in Persia; from the French of Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez*. London, Chapman and Hall, limited; New York, A.C. Armstrong and Son, 1892.

Exquisitely illustrated including some coloured plates. The work considers Persian history, funereal architecture, religious architecture, civil and military architecture, sculpture and industrial arts, and has a good deal of information on monuments including Persepolis and Pasargadae.

Popowski, Jozef. *The Rival Powers in Central Asia, or, the Struggle Between England and Russia in the East*. Translated from the German by A. B. Brabant and edited by C. E. D. Black. Westminster: A. Constable & Co., 1893.

The editorial introduction cites the work of Henry Rawlinson published more than seventeen years earlier, and argues that 'the gravity of the Central Asian question has in no sense abated since 1875; nay, it has rather increased.' (viii) Also highlights Popowski's 'standpoint of a Continental observer.' Popowsk's text, initially published in German in 1890, makes various references to Persia, and this book is most helpful as a description of the political anxieties which enveloped Persia, Afghanistan and other countries in Central Asia.

Rawlinson, George. *A Memoir of Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson. With an introduction by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar.* London: Longmans & Co., 1898.

George Rawlinson was Henry's brother. This biography contributed to the general sense of the great importance of Rawlinson's work towards translating cuneiform inscriptions, on which a good deal of material is provided by George. The work is composed from 'fragments of diaries, and from one or two collections of his letters' as well as materials lent by Henry's son, another Henry Rawlinson, brother of Alfred Rawlinson whose work is considered in chapter 3 of this thesis.

Sykes, Ella. *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle*. London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1898.

Ella was the Oxford educated unmarried sister of the British consul to Kerman, Percy Sykes. Her travelogue describes her three years in Persia, in particular housekeeping in Kerman and her experience accompanying her brother to the Perso-Baluch Frontier Commission. Her writing combines immense enthusiasm for the experience of being abroad, and love of Persia, with expression of her propriety, not least in the title and the reference to her side-saddle.

Weeks, Edwin Lord. *From the Black Sea through Persia and India.* London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1896.

Weeks' initial travel plans were thwarted by 'the civil war in Afghanistan' and he therefore travelled through Persia. The book takes a diary form and employs the present tense, and the first three chapters describe Weeks' journey in Persia including Tabreez, Teheran and Ispahan. The beautifully bound book is a pleasant read, and particularly noteworthy for Weeks' many sketches which illustrate it.

Wills, C. J. *Behind an Eastern Veil: a plain tale of events occurring in the experience of a lady who had a unique opportunity of observing the inner life of ladies of the upper class in Persia.* Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1894.

In his Preface Charles Wills states 'that the descriptions of things Persian in this book are absolutely accurate…. Nothing is exaggerated, nothing overdrawn.' The protagonist, 'Madge Methuen,' is a British woman, whose father sought work in Persia and, having married a Persian princess, sent for his daughter to join him. The narrator stresses that she never converted to Islam, but expressed positive opinions of the religion. Wills' preface mentions Morier's transliteration of Persia, and Madge herself has read *Hajji Baba* from which she derives a picture of Persia. She studies Persian on the boat to Bushire with Francis Reece, who declares his affection for her but cannot afford to marry. Upon arrival in Persia she is met by her father's Persian confidential advisor, who veils her. Her father similarly passes her a wardrobe suitable for a Persian lady when they meet. Various catastrophes befall Margaret until she is rescued by Reece and returns to England.

Wilson, Charles, Sir, ed. *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.* London: John Murray, 1895.

General information Persia comprises pages 283-6 of the work, and routes within Persia pages 313-343, out of a work of over four hundred pages. The brevity of this suggests the liminal status of the country for the general traveller. Recommended reading includes Curzon's work, Layard's *Early Adventures*, Isabella Bishop and Dieulafoy's *L'Acropole de Suse*.

Wilson, Samuel Graham. *Persian Life and Customs. With scenes and incidents of residence and travel in the Land of the Lion and the Sun*. Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896.

Reverend Wilson was a missionary for fifteen years in Persia. Noting the impression writers such as Herodotus and Xenophon convey of Persia, Wilson stresses that 'The Persians are not averse to change.' Moreover he notes that 'Persian customs are not only not stereotyped, they are not even uniform in different parts of the country or even of the same province.' (Introduction, 10) In his introduction Wilson also passes comment on recent publications on Persia including those by Curzon

and Wills. The book brings together Wilson's various journeys and strives to 'add something to the real knowledge of Persian life.' (Introduction, 14) The work covers a good deal of material beginning with his first journey to Persia in 1880.

1900-1909

Adams, Isaac. *Persia by a Persian. Personal experiences, manners, customs, etc. 1900.* London: Elliot Stock, 1906.

Part-biography, part-social commentary, the Iranian Adam recounts his early years in a Nestorian village in Persia, which had converted to Islam; his conversion to Christianity and years at missionary schools in Persia; and then his travels to Europe, America and Canada where he forged brief successful lecturing career. He returned to Persia to work as a missionary and run Christian schools.

Anet, Claude. *Through Persia in a motor-car by Russia and the Caucasus*. Trans. M. Beresford Ryley. Hodder and Stoughton, 1907.

Anet was the pseudonym of Swiss-born Jean Schopfer, a noted French tennis player. Although this book is not, therefore, British travel writing, it is notable for having been translated into English just one year after its initial publication in French as *Les Roses d'Ispahan. La Perse en automobile, à travers la Russie et le Caucase. Ouvrage illustré de nombreux hors texte* (Paris 1906). Furthermore, the dichotomy between the modernity of the motor-car and the sketch illustrations rather than photographs is striking.

Benn, Edith. *An Overland Trek from India by Side-Saddle, Camel, and Rail; the record of a journey from Baluchistan to Europe.* London: Longmans & Co., 1909.

'I dedicate this book to the memory of one whom India is still lamenting – Lady Curzon of Kedleston, whose deep sympathy with the women of India will endear her to posterity and whose noble example will encourage their English sisters to endure the trials and difficulties that beset them in that Empire.' The personal and feminine tone continues in the preface as Benn explains that her initial record of the journey was intended for her children; furthermore the frontispiece presents Benn in profile seated side-saddle. From England in the autumn of 1900, Benn travelled with her husband, who was appointed British Consul in Seistan, to India, and then overland to Seistan; the couple returned home to Twickenham, England in 1903. According to the note at the end of the Preface, the book was written up in Baluchistan in August 1908. Benn speaks of many men who helped her work, and defers to them often; for example, Chapter V, 'A Superficial Account of "Seistan and the Seistan Question",' in which Benn describes herself as 'absolutely unqualified' to give a 'detailed account' of the history of the province, and points her reader to works by Ferrier, Macgregor, Bellow, Yate, Ronaldshay and Curzon. The accompanying map stretches from India to Portugal, and from southern England to Ceylon, showing very few political boundaries and almost no physical detail; Benn's route is marked in red through eastern Persia. Despite these self-deprecating aspects, the work is well-written and enjoyable to read.

Bradley-Birt, F. B. *Through Persia: from the gulf to the Caspian*. London: Smith Elder & Co., 1909.

Bradley-Brit writes 'the record of a journey home from India by one of the many overland routes.' Notable for the almost unwavering impersonal tone and the constant use of the present tense, as well as the assistance of Houtum-Schindler, who had helped Curzon in 1890. Bradley-Birt writes of attending one of the early parliament meetings in his penultimate chapter, suggesting a connection between the tourist gaze and politics.

Browne, Edward G. *A literary history of Persia from the earliest times until Firdawsí*. London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1902; *A Literary history of Persia from Firdawsí to Sa'dí.* London: T. Fisher and Unwin. 1906; *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion (A.D. 1265-1502)* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920; *A History of Persian Literature in modern times (A.D. 1500-1924)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924.

Browne comments in 1920 that 'the present work is in fact, if not in name and form, a continuation' of the two earlier volumes. The delay was caused by 'what repeatedly appeared to be [the] death-agony' of Persia during the revolution. Browne continues, 'it was difficult for anyone who loved her to turn his eyes for long from her present sufferings to her past glories.' (Preface vii) Browne writes of acquiring 'some sixty manuscripts (besides lithographed and printed books published in Persia) from the Library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler' in 1917. (viii) The proofs were 'carefully read by two Government of India Research Students of exceptional learning, ability and industry.' (x) Browne reproduces an image with thanks from Jackson's *Persia Past and Present* (see below). He concludes his Preface: 'Lastly I am indebted to Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, whose later devotion to Arabic has caused her services to Persian letters to be unduly forgotten, for permission to reprint in this volume some of her beautiful translations of the odes of Ḥáfiẓ, together with her fine appreciation of his

position as one of the great poets, not only of his own age and country but of the world and of all time.' (xi)

_____. *A Brief Narrative of Recent Events in Persia, followed by a translation of "The Four Pillars of the Persian Constitution".* London: Luzac & Co., 1909.

A sixty-four page overview of the Constitutional Revolution from its nineteenth-century origins, by a staunch defender of Persia, who believes that 'in the end, and probably sooner rather than later, the Constitutionalist Part must almost certainly triumph.' (64) Browne concludes on a warning note against possible Russian occupation of Persian territory, noting that 'the old mistrust of Russian, which was so strong in this country from Crimean days until the end of the last century… is, perhaps, asleep, but it is not dead.' (64) See below for Browne's devastated and angry response to Russian occupation of Tabriz.

_____. *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910.

A weighty history of the Revolution, from the Tobacco Concession and Assassination of Nasiru'd-Din Shah [sic], to the Convocation of the second Majlis. Appendix A covers 'The Bases of the Persian Constitution,' and Appendix B twenty-five 'Notes embodying additional information received while the book was passing through the Press.' Browne criticises *The Times*' description of the Persia Committee 'as consisting of "Radical politicians whole Platonic sympatheties for Persian Constitutionalism are a convenient cloak for the Russophobia they have developed ever since a more liberal and conciliatory policy in St Petersburg has led to a more friendly understanding between Russian and their own country." …It is sad to see a paper once so generally regarded as fair and courteous reduced to writing such malicious nonsense as this.' (264-5)

Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Exhibition of the faience of Persia and the nearer East.* London: Printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1907.

Catalogue of exhibition of amateur collectors' Persian and Middle Eastern *objet d'art.*

Central Asian Society, The. *Proceedings of the Central Asian Society.*

A selection, only lectures on or directly related to Persia.

- Drummond, Charles E., 'A Railway from the Mediterranean to India,' February 17th 1909.
- Temple, Bernard, 'The Place of Persia in World-Politics,' May 4th 1910.
- Yate, A. C., 'The Proposed Trans-Persian Railway,' February 8th 1911.
- Fraser, Lovat, 'Gun-Running in the Persian Gulf,' May 17th 1911.
- Stainton, B. W., 'The Education Position in Persia,' March 13th 1912.
- Baillie, Charles, (Lord Lamington), 'A Recent Journey through Persia,' January 29th 1913.
- Sykes, Ella, 'Persian Family Life.' Vol. I, Part II, 1914.
- Yate, A. C., 'Persia.' Vol. I, Part II, 1914.
- Yate, A. C., 'Persia: Between the Upper and Nether Millstone.' Vol. I, Part III, 1914.
- Ali, Syed Ameer. 'The Rights of Persia.' 1919.

Chirol, Valentine. *The Middle Eastern Question; or, some political problems of Indian defence*. London: John Murray, 1903.

Traveller, author, and foreign editor of *The Times* from 1899 to 1912, the multi-lingual Chirol had travelled widely. This work is dedicated to Curzon, 'to whose standard works on Persia and Central Asia the author wishes unreservedly to place his indebtedness on record.' Developed from a series of letters published in *The Times* from his journey through Persia in 1902-3, the book has a very slight travel-narrative thread, but deals most heavily with the political issues of the day. Chapters include: 'The Middle Eastern Question Defined,' 'The Persian Aspect of the Problem,' 'British Trade and Russian Competition,' 'Through the Bakhtiari Mountains to the Persian Gulf,' and 'Can the Balance of Power be Restored in Persia?'

Church Missionary Society. *The Persia and Turkish Arabia Missions*. London: Church Missionary Society, 1909.

A fifty page pamphlet in four chapters: The Countries, Peoples, and Religions; General History of the Missions; Stations in Persia; and Stations in Turkish Arabia. Dr Hume-Griffith is listed as Dr Griffith only, present in Persia from 1900-1903. His wife is not mentioned.

Cresson, William Penn. *Persia: The awakening East.* London: William Heinemann, 1908.

American Cresson, a fellow of the RGS, recounts his journey to Persia 'a few years ago.' He writes of Curzon's work, in the light of which it has become 'customary for every new writer dealing with the countries of the Middle East to preface his contribution with an apology for venturing on a field so ably and authoritatively exploited.' (Introduction, 11) Chapter V 'The Rulers of Persia: The Parliament' deals with the recent revolution. On the whole the work is thematically arranged rather than a travelogue, although traces of his journey and personal experiences are evident.

Dames, Mansel Longworth. *The Baloch Race: A historical and ethnological sketch.* London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904.

'…Such are the Baloches, and they have been described so often and with so much detail by so many travellers and frontier officers from Pottinger, Ferrier, and Masson to Sir T. Holdich and Major Molesworth Sykes, that it is unnecessary for me to go into further details. What I wish to consider now is the question of the origin and history of this remarkable race, what their position is among the races

of mankind, and how they came to occupy the countries where they now dwell.' (7) This fifty-three page exploration of the Baloches concludes that they are an Iranian race who settled in the Indus valley after the disruption caused by Timur's conquests, and offers appendices outlining historic and modern clans, genealogical tables and a bibliography.

De Lorey, Eustache and Douglas Sladen. *Queer Things About Persia.* London: Eveleigh Nash, 1907. *(see also 1910-1920)*

Following his publication, *Queer Things about Japan*, Sladen took the recollections of the former member of the French Legation in Persia and transformed them into a first person part-memoir part-social study, including chapters such as 'My House in Teheran', 'Divorce', and 'Government and Justice.' Sladen credits his work, believing 'that both the indolent reader who merely wishes to be thoroughly amused, and the more serious person… will be equally grateful to me, for seldom has so fresh a picture been presented of that distant and unapproachable country.' (Preface, vi) The book was already in the press upon the launch of the Revolution, and merely makes some disparaging remarks on the unexpected intelligence and political awareness of the Mollahs. The book is notable for the fifty-odd photographs, many of which, unusually, show Persians in groups and large crowds.

Dickson, William. *The Life of Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch.* Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1901.

Smith's son-in-law writes on the life of the archaeologist and diplomat, who had published on his explorations in Asia Minor and Cyrene, but not on his later career in Persia. See Chapter VI, 'The Persian Telegraph,' Chapter VII, 'Life in Persia,' Chapter VII, 'Work for the South Kensington Museum. Later Years in Persia,' and Chapter IX, 'The Edinburgh Museum. Mission to Persia in 1887.'

Dudley, Ambrose, pseudonym 'Viator'. *Overland to Persia.* London: John & Edward Bumpus, 1906.

The passages on Persia only begin on page 106 of 169, and the overall fleeting tone of the book is explained by the author on the last page: 'My diary does not contain many pages, for the simple reason that I had but little time to write long dissertations upon the country. …there are many books written by men far more competent than I am to deal fully with [Persia]… possibly these pages will suggest a route that is little known, and will assist any intending traveller in making his arrangements for the journey.'

Dundas, Lawrence (Marquis of Zetland). *On the Outskirts of Empire in Asia.* Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1904.

Later Curzon's biographer, Dundas had travelled widely in Asia, and was later member of the Persia Committee. In this book, chapters IX – XIII describe his experiences in Persia in 1903, interspersed with history including Rawlinson's interpretation of the inscriptions at Bisitun and an overview of Alexander the Great in Persia.

Durand, Ella R. *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia*. Westminster : Archibald Constable & Co, 1902.

Wife of the diplomat Sir Henry, Ella's book opens: 'This book is nothing more than a sketch of an autumn tour in Western Persia. The reader will not find in it the smallest reference to political questions, and it does not pretend to give any new information of value about the country, which has been described by others, notably by that wonderful traveller, Mrs. Bishop.' (Preface, 7) This modest tone is all too well borne out by the insipid writing.

Durand, Sir Edward Law. *Cyrus, the Great King: An historical romance.* London: Sidney Appleton, 1906.

Edward Durand, elder brother of the Durand of the British Legation in Teheran with whom the Sykes siblings stayed, creates a verse historical drama about the life of Cyrus. The rhyming couplets and iambic pentameter are unremitting, brokenly only rarely by other verse forms. Characters include Cyrus, two Cambyses (Cyrus' father and his son), Nitocris Belshazzar and Aharumazda – The Good Spirit, Angramainyus – The Spirit of Darkness, and Vayu – Spirit of the Wind.

Fraser, David. *The Marches of Hindustan, the record of a journey in Thibet, Trans-Himalayan India, Chinese Turkestan, Russian Turkestan, and Persia.* London & Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1907. *(see also 1910-1920)*

A journalist whose work had appeared in *The Times*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and *Times of India*. From these, in particular a series of letters entitled 'The Diary of a Traveller' from the last, Fraser wrote up a substantial travelogue of his trip through Central Asia. The section on Persia (pp. 377-516) covers both the personal journey and recent political developments in the country, and cites both Curzon and Sykes.

Gordon, Thomas Edward, Sir. *A Varied Life: a record of military and civil service, of sport and of travel in India, Central Asia and Persia, 1849-1902.* London: John Murray, 1906.

An extensive autobiography rather than travel-writing, by a long-standing member of the British Army who had been primarily based in India. Sections on Persia deal with early 1890s Teheran and British diplomacy. See *Persia Revisited* in 1890-1900 bibliography subsection above.

Grundy, G. B. *The Great Persian War and its preliminaries; a study of the evidence, literary and topographical. With illustrations.* London: John Murray, 1901.

Grundy studies the literature and landscapes of the Greco-Persian War. The TLS reviewed the work on January 31st 1902, calling it 'scholarly but rather long-winded.' Grundy had surveyed the areas over which the Greeks and Persians fought as recorded by Herodotus and Thucydides, and, according to the TLS, 'essays, not without success, the task of military and literary criticism.' (19)

Hakluyt, Richard. *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation: made by sea or overland to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 years. 8 vol. Everyman's Library*. London: Dent, 1907.

A pocket sized edition of the classic compendium.

Hamilton, Angus. *Problems of the Middle East*. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1909.

Hamilton had written *The Seige of Mafeking* (1900), *Korea* (1904) and *Afghanistan* (1906), and went on to write *Somaliland* (1911) and *In Abor Jungles: Being an account of the Abor Expedition, the Mishmi Mission, and the Miri Mission* (1912). His work on the Middle East links the upheavals in Persia with those in Turkey, as do so many others including Fraser (see above). The work also considers the Baghdad railway and the Hedjaz railway, and the relationship between Britain and Afghanistan. Hamilton writes: 'This volume is the result of journeys which the author made to the Far East for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to the Middle East for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Times of India*, to the Near East for Reuter's Telegram Company.' (Introduction, xv) As is the case with other works, the political analysis comes to outweigh the travel narrative component; Fraser's work makes greater reference to his own travels and is therefore selected over Hamilton's for close reading. Hamilton reproduces Browne's translation of the 'Four Pillars of the Persian Constitution' (1909; see above).

Hasan, Shayk. *Persian Self-Taught, in Roman characters. With English phonetic pronunciation*. London: E. Marlborough 7 Co., 1909.

Preface: 'This volume is primarily intended to supply a working and practical knowledge of the Persian language, for the benefit of those who have not the time or the inclination to master the grammar, and yet require to use the spoken tongue for purposes of business or pleasure. … The work… forms a useful and valuable handbook of Persian for tourists and travellers, commercial men, naval and military officers, students and others. We may add that the Persian language is very sweet, and compared with other languages is easy to master. It has a complete literature of its own. [continued]' As an example of the tone of the work, on pages 75 to 77 are listed phrases for use at 'The Hotel,' including 'Is the proprietor anywhere about?'; 'Have you no better rooms?'; 'Is the bed well aired?'; 'Why are you so late?'; and 'Send my boots to be repaired.'

Hume-Griffith, M. E. *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia. An account of an Englishwoman's eight years' residence amongst the women of the East ... With narratives of experiences in both countries by A. Hume-Griffith.* London: Seeley & Co., 1909.

The wife of a medical missionary, Mary Eliza Hume-Griffith recounts her three years in Persia from 1900-03, including a year in Kerman – home of Ella and Percy Sykes in the mid-1890s. Although the book is generally arranged thematically, a chronological narrative thread is evident. Chapters written by Dr. Griffith are clearly marked. Strikingly, the pair are photographed for the frontispiece dressed in 'Bakhtian costume', with Mary holding the pipe of a hookah.

Jackson, A. V. Williams. *Persia past and present : a book of travel and research : with more than two hundred illustrations. and a map.* New York: Macmillan, 1906. *(see also 1910-20)*

Jackson fuses his historical and cultural knowledge of the region as Professor of Indo-Iranian languages at Columbia University, with recollections of his own travel experiences. Implicitly contrasting himself with Curzon, whose work he references, Williams decides against presenting chapters to the student and the general reader separately, arguing 'if the general reader enjoys a comfortable forty winks while certain technical matters are being discussed, he will awaken refreshed to resume his interest at a point where the specialist may begin to nod.' (Preface, vii) Jackson spent some months in Persia, mainly in the west of the country. The book is notable for the many illustrations and highly detailed map by a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, suggesting there was considerable trans-Atlantic cooperation on Persian scholarship.

James, Lionel. *Side-Tracks and Bridle-Paths.* Edinburgh & London: William Blackwod & Sons, 1909.

These sketches by an 'Intelligence Officer' have their roots in British magazines and newspapers, including *Blackwood's Magazine* and *The Times*. Pages 3 to 96 focus on Persia; the second two thirds of the books consider India, Russia, South Africa, Germany, Turkey and England. The book opens with James' dramatic arrival into revolutionary Persia, and his run-in with Rakhim Khan's 'brigands' – notorious outlaws who had been sequestered by the Shah to maintain control around Tabriz, who are mentioned by other writers of the era. James' description of Tabriz calls upon Damascus and

Omdurman in its first paragraph, as well as conforming to the belief that distance lends aesthetic enchantment in Persia. Although quite scathing about Tabriz's initial impact on the visitor, James concedes 'within these walls there may be found some of that half-mythical, half-poetic oriental splendour which in our dreams we associate with Persia.' (13) James reveals, in a conversation with a Persian acquaintance after their unromantic visit to a courtesan, that he is 'strictly non-partisan' in the matter of the revolution. James records his cook pilfering James' brass saddle name-plates to furnish his tall astrakhan hat, as well as the Persian's hieroglyphic shopping lists, similar to Ella Sykes' servants' habits. There is a striking commentary on British ex-pats' associations with British missionaries by one of James' Persian acquaintances, which confirms the impression given by many travelogues that missionaries and travellers or diplomats rarely interacted (79). The impressionistic sketches, dealing with a variety of themes from the brutality of war to the misdemeanours of a local who converted to Catholicism, cover James' three month residence in Tabriz. Although the exact purpose of his visit is never made clear, the remark that he 'received sudden orders to return' suggests he went there in an official capacity, probably intelligence gathering about the Russian activity around Tabriz. James wrote several other travelogues.

Kush-Ahmed (pseud.) *Memoirs of a Lady Dentist and her Experiences in the East*. London: Henry J. Drane, 1908.

After a series of personal tragedies in Europe, the Austrian-born Jewish author moved to America in the early 1880s. After two visionary dreams she returned to Europe and then joined her brother in Persia, who was dentist to Prince Zelli Sultan and Ispahan. Pages 23 to 109 cover her time in Persia from 1886 to 1892. She trained as a dentist and also treated the royal family. She became friendly with the Princess Bani Osma, sister of the Prince Zelli Sultan, and spent a good deal of time in the royal *anderun*. She also visited Teheran and Shiraz, before settling in Teheran with her own practice, whose patients she describes in brief vignettes. She describes her fear in Persia because of prejudice against the Tobacco Concession, which motivates her to leave. The book goes on to describer her travels in India.

Landor, Arnold Henry Savage. *Across Coveted Lands, or, A Journey from Flushing (Holland) to Calcutta, overland. 2 vol.* London: Macmillan, 1902.

The popular travel-writer crossed paths with the Hume-Griffiths in Kerman (*Behind the Veil* 71-2; *Coveted Lands* 431 ff.). Landor also writes of meeting the C.M.S. missionary Napier Macolm in Yazd (see Mrs Napier Malcolm's work, below). Landor writes in a chatty and wry manner: 'In the country of Iran one does not travel for pleasure nor is there any pleasure in travelling. For study and interest, yes. There is plenty of both everywhere.' (33) Alongside this relative informality and amusing descriptions of the difficulties of life on the road, there are commentaries on Russian and British interests in Persia, as well as information on topics touched on by many other writers, such as the *kanats* or underground water systems throughout the country; the Persian army; and Persian finances. Unusually, the frontispiece of volume II presents neither a Persian of high rank, nor landscape, nor the author, but Landor's servants, Mohammed Hussein and Sadek. Landor himself appears in European costume holding two Persian cats on leashes (Vol. II, facing page 6).

Lorimer, John Gordon. *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman and Central Arabia.* Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1908-1915.

A monumental six-volume work, 'based on 'personal enquiries carried out between 1902 and 1906' (Wilson, 79). …part geographical and navigational handbook, part historical survey, and part detailed account of Britain's relations with the Ottomans and the other political authorities in Arabia and the Gulf. It is the fullest account of the state of knowledge of the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and as such is still an important tool for researchers. Its principal drawback… is that Lorimer does not always quote his sources, so that it is not clear whether he is relying on the published work of travellers or on less publicly accessible reports from British consular and other agents (Vassiliev, 18). … The *Gazetteer* remained 'on the "secret" list until 1930 when it was declassified, but marked "for official use only"' (Winstone, 58).' A. Vassiliev, *The history of Saudi Arabia* (2002). H. F. V. Winstone, *The illicit adventure: the story of political and military intelligence in the Middle East from 1898 to 1926* (1982). Taken from Peter Sluglett, 'Lorimer, John Gordon (1870–1914)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38933, accessed 14 Oct 2010]. Given its official secret status, its impact on travel-writing is non-existent; for an understanding of Britain's engagement with Persia and the surrounding area, however, it is a remarkable record of knowledge.

Malcolm, Napier, Mrs. *Five Years in a Persian Town*. London: John Murray, 1905. *(see also 1910-19)*

On Yazd. 'There is comparatively little about the very interesting work which is being carried on in Yezd by the Church Missionary Society, but there is a great deal about the circumstances under which missionaries work, for the book is really a description of a Persian town from the missionary point of view.' (v-vi)

Nweeya, Samuel K. *Persia : the land of the magi, or the home of the wise men : a description of Persia, its people, their manners, customs, matrimony and home life including*

religion, education and literature, the King, his court, and forms of punishments, etc. 1904 2nd edn.

Reverend Nweeya was from Urmia city in north-western Iran who lived in Indiana when this book was published. He dedicates his work 'to all who are interested in Christian mission work among Mohammedan nations.' Nweeya discusses Islam and aspects of Persian society in great, but prejudiced, detail.

Persia Society, The. *Lectures given to The Persia Society*. London: John Hogg.

- Curzon, George, 'Persian Autonomy,' 15th November 1911.
- Durand, Henry Mortimer, 'The Charm of Persia,' 29th March 1912.
- Lynch, H. F. B., 'The Importance of Persia,' 14th June 1912.
- Browne, E. G., 'The Literature of Persia,' 26th April 1912.
- Waters, G., 'Persia: Its People and their Language,' 1st November 1912.
- Pollock, Frederick, 'A Little Persian not a Dangerous Thing,' 21st February 1913.
- Browne, 'The Persian Press and Persian Journalism,' 23rd May 1913.
- Price, Morgan Philips, 'A Journey through Azerbaijan and Persian Khurdistan,' 7th March 1913.
- Ali, Syed Ameer, 'Persian Culture,' 20th June 1913.
- Turner, G. D., 'An account of the main events in Persia during the period October, 1912, to October, 1913, and a review of some of the literature published during that period,' 17th October 1913.

Persia Society, The. *Lectures delivered to the Society 1913-1914*. Edinburgh: Morrison & Gibb Ltd.

- Sykes, Percy, 'Persian Manners and Customs.' 1913
- Finn, Alexander (Late Consul-General), 'Some Reminiscences of a Stay in Persia.' 1913.
- Margoliouth, Prof. D. S., 'Avicenna'[date unknown]
- Browne, E. G., 'The Religious Influence of Persia,' May 20th 1914
- Baillie, Charles (Lord Lamington), 'The Persia Press and Persian Journalism,' [Persia Society Monograph, no. 40, 1913]

Purchas, Samuel. *Hakluytus Posthumus: or, Purchas his Pilgrimes, Containing a history of the world in sea voyages and lande travells by Englishmen and others. 20 vols.* Glasgow: Maclehose, 1905-1907.

Originally published in 1625. See Book 9 for travels in Persia of Sherley, Newberie, and Cartwright.

Shoemaker, Michael Myers. *The Heart of the Orient: Saunterings through Georgia, Armenia, Persia, Turkomania, and Turkestan, to the Vale of Paradise.* New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904.

Given his residence at the American Embassy in Teheran and therefore probable nationality, this book is excluded from this thesis. It is one of a series of travel books by Myers, and contains many photographs. His travels are recorded in the present tense, and accompanied by undemanding histories of the countries he travels through.

Sinclair, William F. trans. and notes. *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his "Kings of Harmuz", and extracts from his "Kings of Persia."* London: Hakluyt Society, 1902.

For notes on Hakluyt Society Publications, see Dames (above). Teixeira travelled to Persia in or about 1593 and stayed there for about four years, according to Sinclair's lengthy introduction. The bulk of the book contains Teixeira's journey from Malacca via the Americas, but the appendices include Sinclair's translations of Teixeira's writings from Persia.

Sparroy, Wilfrid. *Persian children of the royal family: the narrative of an English tutor at the court of H. I. H. Zillu's-Sultan, C.C.S.I.* London & New York: John Lane, 1902.

Sparroy recounts his experiences in Ispahan at the fin-de-siècle court of the Shah's elder brother, who was not sufficiently elevated in terms of his maternal ancestry to ascend the throne. As well as specific anecdotes of teaching several princes, Sparroy writes in general terms about aspects of Persian society as he saw it.

Stileman, C. H. *The Subjects of the Shah: or, the Land of pussy cats and poverty, etiquette and error, etc.* London: Church Missionary Society, 1902.

Stileman was a C.M.S. missionary in Persia, and offers a slim and rather whimsical book of material he has gathered during his time in Persia, under alliterated chapter headings, including the two offered in the subtitle above, as well as 'Rugs and Ruins,' 'Sunshine and Sadness,' 'Indolence and Ignorance,' and 'Apricots and Apathy.' The preface by Moule mentions Carless, 'a good friend of mine,' as well as of the Sykes siblings. Stileman also mentions Mr and Mrs Griffith in Kirman (72). See also M. E. Hume-Griffith's *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia*.

Stuart, Donald. *The Struggle for Persia*. London: Methuen & Co., 1902.

Remarkably dedicated to a non-European figure, 'the great Persian who rules the destinies of the Shah's Dominions, the Atabak Azam,' the Grand Vizier of Persia. Like many others, Stuart made use of figures provided by Houtum-Schindler (219). The author is (even by the standards of the day) a vehement Russophobe; the chapter on 'Railway Enterprise' is an example of this. Stuart's claim to novelty lies in his route between 'Eastern Russia (*via* Tabriz) to Teheran,' taken by, he claims, less

than a dozen English travellers before him, none of whom have written on their journeys. (Preface) The journey is supplemented by chapters on Curzonion subjects, such as 'The Shah's Army,' and 'The Russian Octopus,' a stark warning of the potential danger of Russian invasion, and Britain's potential to enable 'the dawn of modern Persia.'

Sykes, Ella. *The story-book of the Shah or, Legends of old Persia. With illustrations by Claude Cooper, and decorations by Ethel R. Sykes from Persian sources.* London: J. Macqueen, 1901.

Bound in dark green with gilt decorations and the image of a cross-legged turbaned man telling a story on the front, this work makes clear its function as a story-book for children. Sykes concedes that she has not read the Shah Nameh in the original, but she has 'endeavoured to make such characters as Jemshed, Rustem, Sohrab, and others, interesting to English readers' partly through adding contemporary local touches from her residence there with Percy. The Preface concludes with an Orientalist judgement: 'In many cases I have taken only the bare outline of the story, filling it in with suitable incidents, and have tried to avoid the repetition and verbosity of the original, which would not appeal to the Western mind, as it does to the Eastern.'

_____. *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle*, 2nd edn. With Introduction by Sir. Frederic Goldsmid. London: J. Macqueen, 1901.

Goldsmid's introduction 'to a new edition of [Sykes'] attractive pages' summarises some of the travelogue's key passages and offers some recollections from Goldsmid's own travels in Eastern Persia in the 1850s and 1860s. Goldsmid notes the critical reception of the work, 'which has long since won recognition from appreciative readers.' (Introduction ix) The hardcover presents simply drawn tribesmen with an improbably docile looking camel – a rather less imposing and more populist appearance than the first edition.

_____. 'Persia.' *Women of All Nations*. Ed. T. Athol Joyce and N. W. Thomas. London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1909, pp. 633-645.

Sykes follows a Persian woman's life from cradle to death, and includes sections on 'The Bath as a Club for Women,' 'Persian Women and Religion,' 'Women's Dress,' and several on marriage including weddings and married women's status. There are also eight photographs of women, including women in indoor costumes, in chadors, and nomad women. Some of these images are taken by H. R. Sykes, Percy and Ella's cousin. There is also one full-page colour illustration of a woman in indoor costume next to a hookah by C. Prætorius.

Sykes, Percy Molesworth. *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia; or, eight years in Iran*. London: John Murray, 1902.

The British army officer, explorer and consul describes his various journeys in Persia from the early 1890s. The work includes some description of his time as consul in Kerman, his cartographic work, and conveys his antiquarian interest in Alexander the Great and Marco Polo.

Tate, G. P. *The Frontiers of Baluchistan: Travels on the border of Persia and Afghanistan*. London: Witherby & Co., 1909.

Tate's work can be compared to Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles* for its affiliation with a liminal space within Persia as well as professional association with boundary commissions – in the case of Tate, the 1895-7 Baluch-Afghan Boundary Commission, and the Sesitan Arbitration Mission, 1903-5. Tate expresses in his Preface a fascination with the region rooted in his upbringing in India: '"Once on the frontier always on the frontier," was a saying that used to be current in Anglo-India society. It has been fulfilled in my case.' (xi) The text acknowledges the appeal of the region to intrepid travellers, saying 'the trade route from Quetta *viâ* Nushki to Seistan and Khorassan has to some extent become fashionable among travellers who seek interest outside the beaten track of a winter tour in the Middle East.' (1) Tate writes on most of his twenty year career in 'this country where three empires meet' (1-2); from the winter 1886-7 onwards he recalls surveying and delimitation commissions, often faced with terrible conditions in the desert and many members of the commission dying, particularly in Seistan. The work is dedicated to his wife.

Whigham, Henry James. *The Persian Problem: an examination of the rival positions of Russia and Great Britain in Persia with some account of the Persian Gulf and the Bagdad Railway.* London: Isbister & Co., 1903.

Like so many books considered here, Whigham offers thanks to newspaper proprietors – in this case, those of the *Morning Post* – for allowing him to rework a series of letters into this analytical study of various aspects of the increasing rivalry between Russia and Britain over Persia. Chapters include 'Shall we give Russia Bunder Abbas?,' 'The Importance of Koweit,', 'The Position of Turkey in the Gulf,' 'Persian Carpets,' and two on 'Russia's Policy.' Whigham calls on the British Government to recognise Russia's growing eminence in Persia in terms of commerce and political influence, and to take steps to halt further Russian encroachment. Both literally through quotations and metaphorically in style, Whigham's work echoes Curzon's.

Williams, Eliot Crawshay. *Across Persia.* London: Edward Arnold, 1907.

Dedicated 'by permission' to Curzon, with whom Williams, a former officer in India, sailed up the Persian Gulf on Curzon's Viceregal tour of the region in 1903. Acknowledging in his preface that

satisfying one's love of travel can be a selfish passion in contrast with the output of artists, authors and politicians, Williams resolved to write on his travels to fulfil 'a sense of duty.' (vii) The journey from India home lasted eight months, and the book is based on his detailed journals of the time. Williams travelled from south to north, from Bushire to Shiraz, Isfahan, Kashan and finally Tehran. The writing is enjoyably florid: 'Such it is, - the East: - a glorious mixture of dazzle and darkness, luxury and misery, beauty and filth, bewildering the mind alternately by its majesty and its horror.' (10) The chapters have epigraphs generally related to travel itself – including Walt Whitman and Dr. Johnson – or sometimes Persia – as in Fitzgerald's translation of the Rubbaiyat, or Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh.*

Wishard, John G. *Twenty Years in Persia: a narrative of life under the last three Shahs*. New York: Fleming H Revell Co., 1908.

Former Director of the American Presbyterian Hospital, Teheran, who dedicates the work to his wife for 'establishing an American home in that far-away land [thereby adding] greatly… to the charm of our Oriental life.' (Dedication) Wishard writes of the assassination of Nasr-ed-Din Shah in 1896, whose already-dead body he received at the Palace. He also offers a doctor's insight into the slow death of Muaffer-ed-Din Shah from 'Bright's Disease' in January 1907, and concludes his work with a discussion of Persian reform in the light of the Constitutional Revolution.

Wolff, Henry Drummond. *Rambling Recollections*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1908.

Two volume informal autobiography of the diplomat and politician. Volume 2, Chapters LXIII and LXIV describe his time as Minister for Persia in Tehran, which he left in 1889. Chapter LXV describes his work with various officials preparing for the Shah's visit to England. Wolff returned briefly to Persia where he met 'Mr. Curzon – now Lord Curzon of Kedleston – who was travelling in Persia and writing his well known book.' (371) Ill-health forced Wolff to leave Persia permanently in 1890.

Yate, Charles Edward. *Khurasan and Sistan.* Edinburgh; London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1900.

Yate had a long career in the British Army in India including fighting during the Second Anglo-Afghan war of 1879-80. From 1889 Yate was consul at Muscat; from 1890-2 political agent in Baluchistan; from 1893-8 agent to the governor-general of India and Consul-General at Mashad, and these years resulted in the work in question. Yate considers the north-eastern districts of Khurasan and Sistan in detail, as well as the tribes of the region who were relatively unknown at the time. As might be expected from someone of Yate's position the work focuses on routes, borders with Russia and Afghanistan, and politics. There is also particular detail on the holy city of Mashad, seat of Imam Reza's shrine (327-46) and a pull-out plan of the shrine complex, despite the fact that non-Muslims were strictly forbidden from entering.

1910-1918

Barker, George Digby. *Letters from Persia and India, 1857-1859: a subaltern's experiences in war. Edited by Lady Barker.* London: G. Bell & Sons, 1915.

Letters from an India-based British soldier on, amongst other events, the Anglo-Persian War of 1856-7, which stemmed from Persia's attempt to reacquire Herat (Afghanistan). Published from a recently discovered collection by Katherine Barker, 'for the sake of many friends and relations, and also in the hope that they will be especially acceptable to the officers and men of the regiment he loved so well.' (Introduction)

Browne, Edward G. *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910.

The prominent Persian scholar's study of the revolution stems from no first hand experience, but instead painstaking research and communication with active participants. Browne stresses in his Preface the subtle positions of Constitutionalists and Nationalists against the portraits of other writers, and speaks strongly of his affection for Persia, its culture and people. The Preface also sets the tone for the rest of the book's intellectualism, with three pages on transliteration and Persian titles and names. The chapter are supplemented by an appendix listing the bases of the Persian Constitution, and another comprised of 'notes embodying additional information received while the book was passing through the Press' (nearly an additional fifty pages).

_____. *The Reign of Terror at Tabriz. England's Responsibility.* Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co., 1912.

A fifteen page report compiled for the use of the Persia Committee on the events of 1911 and 1912. The Russian forces who had approached Tabriz in end the siege in 1909 finally entered the city in December 1911, and Browne describes the subsequent assassination of the Nationalists leaders, as well as massacre of many voluntary soldiers, and even non-combatants, women and children. Browne was first informed about these events through letters from refugees in Constantinople, and reproduces G. D. Turner's letter from the *Manchester Guardian* of September 3rd 1912. Browne concludes by calling for British action to remove the corrupt governor from Tabriz and his replacement by a choice of the Persian government, no matter that Tabriz falls within Russia's sphere of influence within Persia. The

pamphlet concludes with photographs from the siege of hung and tortured Nationalists leaders and the burning citadel.

_____. *The press and poetry of modern Persia: partly based on the manuscript work of Mírzá Muhammad ʿAlí Khán "Tarbivat" of Tabríz.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914.

'This book treats two different though kindred subjects, the Persian Press, more particularly Persian Journalism, and the political and patriotic poetry of Modern Persia; in other words, with two aspects of Persian literary activity in recent years, especially since the Proclamation of the Constitution in 1906. It falls, therefore, into two distinct parts, of the first of which I am the translator, and of the second the compiler.' (The Translator's Preface, ix) Part I contains a 'List of Persian Newspapers' and 'Other Modernizing influences in the Persian Press'; Part II 'Specimens of the Political and Patriotic Poetry of Modern Persia.'

Central Asian Society, The. *Proceedings of the Central Asian Society.*

A selection, only lectures on or directly related to Persia.

- Temple, Bernard, 'The Place of Persia in World-Politics,' May 4th 1910.
- Yate, A. C., 'The Proposed Trans-Persian Railway,' February 8th 1911.
- Fraser, Lovat, 'Gun-Running in the Persian Gulf,' May 17th 1911.
- Stainton, B. W., 'The Education Position in Persia,' March 13th 1912.
- Baillie, Charles, (Lord Lamington), 'A Recent Journey through Persia,' January 29th 1913.
- Sykes, Ella, 'Persian Family Life.' Vol. I, Part II, 1914.
- Yate, A. C., 'Persia.' Vol. I, Part II, 1914.
- Yate, A. C., 'Persia: Between the Upper and Nether Millstone.' Vol. I, Part III, 1914.
- Ali, Syed Ameer. 'The Rights of Persia.' 1919.

Dames, Mansel Longworth. Trans., ed. and notes. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa. An Account of the Countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants, Written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed about the year 1518 A.D. 2 vol.* London: Hakluyt Society, 1918-21.

Duarte Barbosa's account was completed in 1518; and the Portuguese text from which Dames worked was published in 1812. Brief descriptions of the coastal towns of Persia start at page 74 of volume 1. The publication is less significant, therefore, as an example of travel-writing, than as an example of the wide fascination with travelogues evident in early twentieth-century publications. It also makes clear the type of reader the Hakluyt Society publications tend towards – the book opens with a seven and a half page bibliography of various works, generally academic rather than popular; there is moreover a list of the Society's own publications at the end of volume 1. A list of current members, which emphasises the Society's breadth of influence, includes many international libraries and organisations, as well as the following interesting figures (years indicate date member joined the Society, which was founded in 1846): Napoléon Bonaparte, 1894; Edward Browne, 1916; The Colonial Office, 1847; George Curzon, 1893; Mansel Dames, 1913; India Office, 1847; Royal Anthropological Institute, 1911; Royal Geographical Society, 1847; Percy Sykes, 1899; Travellers' Club, 1847

De Lorey, Eustache and Douglas Sladen. *The Moon of the fourteenth Night: being the private life of an unmarried diplomat in Persia during the revolution.* Hurst and Blackett, 1910.

De Lorey and Sladen collaborate in their second work on the transformation of the memoirs of a French diplomat, the assassinated Edouard Valmont, into a one volume diary with reproductions of images of people and places mentioned in Valmont's diary; images from contemporary newspapers; and prints from books de Lorey owns. Sladen argues in his preface that Valmont would have approved of his diary of his brief romance with a Persian lady being published, as he had a 'habit of introducing personages, whom… did not exist, but who were obviously founded on the model of personages of the greatest rank and influence.' (vii-viii) Sladen adds: 'The reader will, I hope, excuse me if I point out how much of real political value is included in these gossiping reminiscences of Edouard Valmont. I think he must have meant to make a book of them himself, and I think he must have felt lonely at heart, because he gave so much times to his journal.' (vii) Bonakdarian labels the work: 'a romantic tale of "forbidden love" set during the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906–11.' (Bonakdarian, 'Iranian Studies in the United Kingdom in the Twentieth Century,' 273.)

De Warzée, Dorothy; Baroness d'Hermalle. *Peeps into Persia*. London: Hurst and Blackett, Limited, 1913.

De Warzee writes that she has spent 'much of the past six years in Teheran' but her reasons for being there are not made clear; she writes of herself as 'unimportant' (27). The book is on the whole thematically arranged, 'Social Life in Teheran', 'The Arts in Persia', 'Superstitions' etc, and the final chapter is entitled 'A Sketch of Recent Events in Persia.' An article, ostensibly by de Warzee's great-grandchild, offers biographical details on Dorothy: she was born in London, and married a Belgian she met on family holiday in France, who became a consul in a number of countries including Persia: http://cozop.com/jour_pour_jour/dorothy_de_warzee_droits_auteur_numerisation_reedition_sur_papier

Fowle, Captain T. C. *Travels in the Middle East: being impressions by the way in Turkish Arabia and Persia*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1916.

Addressing the purpose and difficulties of travel-writing; the modernisation of travel in the Middle East; and the likely impact of the war on the region, Fowle's text recalls two 'language-leaves' from India – the first to Turkish Arabia and Syria, the second to Persia. The journeys were taken prior to the outbreak of WWI, and the book is dedicated to Fowle's brother 'killed in action in the Dardanelles, June 4, 1914.'

Fraser, David. *Persia and Turkey in Revolt.* London & Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1910.

Sent back to Persia at short notice by The Times as Special Correspondent, Fraser recounts his experiences during 1909 in Teheran.

Fryer, John. *A New Account of East India and Persia: being nine years' travels, 1672-1681. 2 vol.* Edited, with notes and an introduction, by William Crooke. London: Hakluyt Society, 1909-15.

Fryer's lengthy journey was undertaken to further the knowledge of the East India Company and was first published in 1698. See vol. I, letter V, chapters I-XIV for writings on Persia.

Hedin, Sven Anders. *Overland to India. 2 vol*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1910.

Hedin was a Swedish explorer and writer, and this work is dedicated to J. R. Dunlop Smith, private secretary to the Viceroy of India (Earl of Minto) during Hedin's latest trip to Persia (1905-6). He had previously been in 1885-6 and 1890-1, and all his routes are depicted on the map included with this edition. Hedin writes warmly of Persia in his preface as 'the land of roses and poetry,' and 'diligently' avoided routes through Persia taken by earlier European explorers. Along with Houtum-Schindler, Hedin thanks Major Sykes in his preface, 'who is a great authority on Persia, for the valuable hints and advice he sent me by letter.' (x)

Hone, J. M. and Page J. Dickinson. *Persia in Revolution with notes of travel in Caucasus*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912.

Hone and Dickinson travelled to Teheran at the beginning of 1909 and offer in their slight travelogue a synopsis of the events that had led to the revolution as well as typical tales from the road. Portions of the work had previously been published in various British newspapers as well as *The Chicago Daily News*.

Hubbard, Gilbert. *From the Gulf to Ararat: an expedition through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan.* Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1916.

Hubbard was Secretary of the Delimitation Commission and his year-long pre-war route lies mainly along the western side of the modern Iran / Iraq border, occasionally crossing briefly into Persia. See, for example, chapter X, 'Entering Kurdistan' – 'The frontier work at this stage was the most complicated the Commission had yet had to deal with.' (163) Also chapter XV, 'The Last Stage,' on Urmia. Shot by Kurdish tribesmen shortly before the end of the proposed route, Hubbard left the Commission and travelled home just before the outbreak of war.

Jackson, A. V. Williams. *From Constantinople to the home of Omar Khayyam. Travels in Transcaucasia and Northern Persia for historic and literary research. With over two hundred illustrations and a map.* New York: Macmillan & Co., 1911.

After the success of *Persia past and present*, Jackson recounts travels 'through Northern Iran, Transcaspia, and Turkistan in 1907 and 1908 for the purpose of scholarly research.' (Preface, vii) Again, as an American, his work falls outside the remit of this thesis. It is notable, however, that like many British travellers in Persia, Jackson turns to historical figures to structure much of his work: 'Zoroaster… ran as a minor chord through the pages of the earlier volume; in the present volume Alexander the Great, upon whose track I have travelled so extensively, adds another connecting link between the interests of East and West, while Omar's home, as a goal to visit, gave the journey the semblance… of a pilgrimage.' (vii-vii)

Kennion, Roger Lloyd. *By Mountain, Lake, and Plain: being sketches of sport in Eastern Persia.* Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1911.

Opens with a standard preface: 'So many books have recently appeared about Persia that some apology would seem necessary for adding to the number. My excuse is that though most of the "questions" with which this ancient country bristles have been more than adequately dealt with, little of nothing has been said in any of them about sport.' (v) He recommends the country to 'the Indian subaltern' seeking a diversion on his way home. Chapters include The Maral Stag; Seistan Gazelle; Gazelles of Eastern Persia; and The Bujnurd Sheep. Major Kennion also wrote *Sport and Life in the Further Himalaya* (Edinburgh : William Blackwood and Sons, 1910).

MacAlister, Florence. *Memoir of the Right Hon. Sir John McNeill G.C.B., and of his second wife Elizabeth Wilson.* London: John Murray, 1910.

Memoir of the diplomat (1795-1883) whose career in Persia began as an attachment to the East India Company Legation from 1824, and closed in 1842. McNeill was bestowed with The First Class of the Order of the Lion and the Sun by the Shah in 1833 (167).

Malcolm, Napier, Mrs. *Children of Persia*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1911.

A book about Persian children for English children, with watercolour illustrations. Napier writes to her future young readers: 'Do not think, when you have read this book, that you know how bad Muhammadanism is, for a great deal of its sin and cruelty is too terrible to tell to young folks. But I hope enough has been said to show you that Persian children do need to be rescued and brought to the Lord Jesus Christ to be His children.'

Massy, Harry Stanley. 'An Englishman in the Shrine of Imam Reza in Mashad.' *The Nineteenth Century and After.* No. 431, January, 1913. London: Spottiswoode & Co. Ltd. pp. 990-1007.

A description of an incident from a twelve months' leave of absence from the army in India, in which Massy and a colleague entered the shrine disguised as Afghans; Massy assumes the name Sirdar Mozaffer Mussain Khan. Massy professes ease with this subterfuge, 'as I had for years been accustomed to wear native dress almost daily as an officer of Bengal Cavalry.' (991) Massy expresses warm thanks to Yate in Mashad for his hospitality.

Moore, Arthur. *The Orient Express. Sketches of travel in Persia and the Balkans.* London: Constable & Co., 1914.

Traveller and journalist who participated in the events of the Persian revolution. His Preface offers a discussion of the personal nature of travel experiences, and his book opens with an overview of the events of the revolution. See Wratislaw (1924) for the Consul's perspective on Moore.

Moore, Benjamin Burges. *From Moscow to the Persian Gulf. Being the journal of a disenchanted traveller in Turkestan and Persia.* London & New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915.

Apparently American, Moore writes in opposition to the many books he has read on Persia which have been 'rose-coloured.' (Foreword) His travelogue takes the form of a journal in the present tense and ends rather petulantly, commenting that the country 'has in many ways been worth the visit, but one that I hope heartily never to see again.' (443)

Neligan, A. R. *Hints for residents and travellers in Persia.* London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1914.

Written by the 'Physician to His Majesty's Legation at Tehran' who had lived in Persia 'for some years.' Includes details of what clothes to wear whilst travelling in Persia; what household supplies to take; action in case of various illnesses; meteorological details on the regions of Persia; and some travel tips. For example, on Resht: 'The shooting is very good… There is a lawn tennis court, and a Badminton court. The riding is very poor.' (39)

Phillott, Douglas Craven. *Colloquial English-Persian Dictionary.* Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1914.

Dedicated to Curzon, 'as a slight mark of appreciation of the stimulus given by him, when Viceroy of India, to the study of Persia.' In his Preface Phillott stresses the distinction between the Persian of Afghanistan and India, and the Persian of Persia, and rues 'the great expense incurred in the production of this book [which] obliged me to discard the Persian character altogether.' (v-vi)

Rice, Clara C. *Mary Bird in Persia*. London: Church Missionary Society, 1916.

Written by a fellow British missionary to Persia after Bird's death. 'Mrs Bishop, née Isabella Bird, one of the most intrepid of women travellers, was a cousin of Mary Bird's father.' (1) The book contains some history and social commentary on Persia, and chapters on subjects such as 'Mary Bird as a "Doctor"', 'Mary Bird as a "Teacher"', and 'Mary Bird as a friend and an inspiration.' Bird lived in Persia from 1891-1897, 1899-1904, and from 1911 until her death in 1914.

Shuster, W. Morgan. *The Strangling of Persia: A record of European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue*. T. Fisher Unwin, 1912.

Shuster, briefly Treasurer-General of Persia from 1911, dedicates his work to 'the Persian People.' As an American, his work falls outside the remit of this thesis: but reference must be made to his analysis of the economic potential of Persia in the light of Curzon's comments of 1892, as well as the importance of such a detailed memoir from another Westerner caught up in the upheavals in Persia.

Stewart, Charles. E. *Through Persia in Disguise with Reminiscences of the Indian Mutiny.* London: George Routledge and Sons, 1911.

The diaries of the late Colonel written up by Basil Stewart, himself a travel writer. Charles' widow claims in her Introduction that as a twelve-year-old Stewart would meet Morier in Brighton and be fascinated by his stories of his travels in Persia; the Stewarts also apparently socialised with Max Müller in 1880 in Oxford. She writes of his 'intense sympathy with – and a certain adaptability to – the people amongst whom he lived.' (x) Stewart had travelled through Persia in 1866, and this book recalls his journey in 1880-1. Stewart returned to Persia throughout his career. The accompanying map is the result of Stewart's own cartographic work with the Afghan Boundary Commission.

Sykes, Ella. *Persia and its People.* London: Methuen & Co., 1910.

Based on both her first and second trips to Persia, as well as study of the works of several Persophiles including Browne, Curzon, Markham, Muir, Jackson, Pelly and her brother, as well as communication with H. Sykes, Isabella Bird and Mortimer Durand. Chapters include 'The Shah, His Capital and

Government,' 'The Persian Man,' 'The Persian Woman,' 'Travel,' 'Country Life,' and (presumably heavily influenced by her brother's interests) 'Marco Polo in Persia.' The book is more densely written than her travelogue, and includes an index.

Sykes, Percy Molesworth. *The Glory of the Shia World: The tale of a pilgrimage*. Translated & edited from a Persian manuscript by Major P. M. Sykes; assisted by Khan Bahadur Ahmad Din Khan. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910.

Purporting to be a translation of a manuscript by Nurullah Khan (born 1859) edited by Major Sykes, the autobiografiction dances around its fictionality on page two, where Nurullah claims descent from *Haji* Abul Hasan Khan, footnoted as 'the original of Morier's *Haji* Baba.' The chapters include 'My Parentage and Birth,' 'My Betrothal and Marriage,' 'Kerman, the Heart of the World,' and 'The Sacred Shrine of the *Imam* Riza,' the focus of his pilgrimage in Meshed. The book is generously illustrated with sketches, reproductions of miniatures, and photographs.

_____. *A History of Persia. 2 vol*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1915.

Volumes I covers from Elam and Babylonia, through the Assyrian Empire, the reign of Xerxes, the Sasanian dynasty, to Persia as a province of the Omayyad Caliphate, covering approximately 3,000 B.C.E. to 786 C.E.. Volume II opens with The Golden Age of Islam, covers Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane, the Safavi dynasty and Shah Abbas, Nadir Shah's reign, the brief Zand dynasty, the Kajar dynasty, and then the latter half of the nineteenth-century and the first decade and a half of the twentieth in great detail. The work is dedicate to Sykes' comrades in Persia during the Great War. New editions were published in 1921 and 1930, and reprints appeared in 1958 and 2004.

Tate, G. P. *Seistan. A Memoir on the History, Topography, Ruins, and People of the country.* Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1910-12.

Published in two volumes – parts I to III, and IV – this report offers no autobiographical material, but does demonstrate several features which it shares in common with travel-writing of the era in its broad subject choices (as listed in the title) and references to earlier travellers such as Ferrier.

Tiele, C. P. *The Religion of the Iranian Peoples (from the German) with Darmesteter's Sketch of "Persia" and Goldziher's "Influence of Parsism on Islam" (from the French), translated by G. K. Nariman*. Bombay: The Parsi Publishing Company, 1912.

A translation of selected works by leading European Orientalists: Tiele was a Dutch theologian; Darmesteter was a French academic; and Goldziher a Hungarian sometimes now credited with founding Islamic studies in Europe.

1919-1930

Amory, Copley. *Persian Days.* 1928.

The American Copley spent just four weeks in Persia and in his preface he states that 'the following account… makes no pretence at giving a comprehensive picture of the country, its people, or their problems. But if these informal impressions based on notes made during the trip, and put into final shape later, contribute to an interest in a country which is bound, as time goes on, to attract an increasing amount of attention abroad, they will, I believe, serve a useful purpose.' (vii) Amory acknowledges his 'indebtedness' to Percy Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles* as well as *The History of Persia*, and Curzon's *Persia*, 'a comprehensive and masterly compilation of facts which, although written over thirty years ago, remains the most useful guide-book a traveller in Persia can have to-day.' (xiii) The work is highly readable and sometimes witty.

Balfour, James Moncreiff. *Recent Happenings in Persia*. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1922.

Balfour was 'late chief assistant to the financial adviser to the Persian Government.' The work might usefully be compared, therefore, with Shuster's work of 1912, *The Strangling of Persia*; Shuster was the American Treasurer-General of Persia briefly from 1911, and the contrasting perspectives of economists within travel-writing might yield interesting points.

Balfour's inflammatory preface makes clear his intention to 'expose such mistakes' as those in 'high places' have made in order to divert 'some blindly given popular support… from the individuals concerned.' He believes 'it is the duty of all who become familiar with instances of mismanagement in high quarters to make their knowledge public, in order that others may have a clearer understanding of matters which vitally affect the Empire.' (v-vi) Moreover, he believes that recent events have 'resulted in the extinction of British prestige in Persia, with inevitable consequences in the adjacent countries.' (v)

His introductory chapter points to the current field of writing on Persia, the numbers of changes that have taken place since Curzon's *Persia*, and Balfour's sixteen months in the country. Pointing to inaccurate distances mentioned in Parliament with regards to Britain's withdraw from the north-west of the country, Balfour decides his work shall include 'some of the main facts relating to the country, the people, and their recent history.' (7) The work is thematically arranged around generally political topics including 'From the Constitution to the Anglo-Persian Agreement,' 'The

Anglo-Persian Agreement,' 'The Coup d'État,' and 'The Outlook in the Middle East.' The work is therefore, despite Balfour's length residence in the region, less a travelogue than a political study, and thus helpful for suggesting contemporary analysis of the country.

Bell, Gertrude. *Persian Pictures*. London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1928.

Bell's 1894 book was republished with a Preface by Sir Dension Ross, who notes Bell's initial reluctance to have the sketches published, hence its initial anonymous publication. See also Denison Ross' introductory remarks to the republication of Browne's *A Year Amongst the Persians*, also republished in 1928; some comparisons between the two are drawn in the preface to this work.

Blacker, L. V. S. *On Secret Patrol in High Asia*. London: John Murray, 1922.

'Dedicated by Permission to Field-Marshal His Royal Highness The Duke of Connaught, K.G.' Blacker was a member of "The Guides" regiment of the British Army in India; injured on the Western Front, he was sent to Central Asia. In his preface he comments that 'our experiences put us cheek by jowl with barbaric and primitive nature, and back to the struggles of the Bronze, if not the Stone Age. It was refreshing, and a charming change from the formalism and cut-and-dried methods of the Western Front and its unskilled warfare. …Perhaps this narrative may interest those jaded with the polished and suave periods of more civilized and scientific travellers.' (ix) Part of Blacker's work was cartographic, and he describes the pressures not only of the breadth of landscape they wished to map, but also the urgency lent by war: 'The desire to fill in some of blank, bald patches on the map was strong in our breasts, and our Force Commander looked upon it with sympathy. As we had about a quarter of a million square miles to play with, there was no hope of doing it all, so we compromised by tackling a bit at a time. The order of priority of the bald patches was governed by two factors: the likelihood of fighting in that particular area, and the scientific interest of it – that is, the extent and degree of our geographical ignorance about it.' (196) The work contains a small black and white map of Central Asia, and a large impressive colour physical map of Persia and Afghanistan. Chapters VI, VII and IX contain most of Blacker's Persian exploits.

Browne, Edward Granville. *A Year Amongst the Persians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926.

NB the memoir by Denison Ross

Candler, Edmund. *On the Edge of the World*. London: Cassell & Co., 1919.

In his Preface and Dedication Candler explains that the first two-thirds of the book were written before the war, 'the last third in Mesopotamia, where, every summer, the heat is so intense that it compels a natural armistice.' He dedicates the work to his 'Friends in Mesopotamia in the hope that it may carry their spirits away to cool places, and that the day may soon come when they will have "no cause to set their dreaming eyes, / Like Arabs, on fresh streams in Paradise."' ('England,' from *Forty New Poems* by William H. Davis (London: A. C. Fifield). The poem speaks of the extremes of landscape and dangerous fauna that England lacks; the speaker concludes, despite having travelled far and wide, 'Give me this England now for all my world.' It thus entirely complements the homesick and heat-exhausted mood of Candler's experiences in Mesopotamia.) As befits the timeline of writing, the first section of the book, focusing on modern-day Kashmir, has a lighter tone than the final third. An example lies in an ascent of a mountain pass, when Candler's personality is dissolved into two by the heat: 'Number One, the self that desired to see Gor, a remote unsensualised self, troubled by uncomfortable aspirations; and Number Two, the spokesman of the body, whose business it was to protect the physical envelope from the hurt gendered by these vapours.' After a humorous conversation between the two, Candler announces 'the grave of Number One is marked by a loose heap of stones 2,500 feet above the Indus bed.' (86-7) The chapters which refer to Persia – 'The Bakhtiari Foothills' and 'The Old Baghdad-Kermanshah Road' – describe a brief respite from 'the hideous flat where so many of one's friends lay buried,' meaning Mesopotamia. (190-1) Candler sees the oilfields of Persia, Shuster, and returns to fighting around the Diala (Diyala) river. A further visit back into western Persia in 1918 shows Candler the immense famine sweeping many towns following the 1917 drought and war.

Cash, William Wilson. *Persia Old and New*. London: Church Missionary Society, 1929.

Foreword: 'It was my happy experience to visit Persia in April and May, 1928. My tour carried me over 5000 miles by motor car, and I visited all the C.M.S. centres of work, as well as several stations of the American Presbyterian Mission.' (v) The book is intended for supporters of the CMS: 'I put out this little volume, conscious of its many shortcomings, in the hope that it may help those who are supporting the work of the C.M.S., to see how wonderfully God is blessing the work of the Society in this, one of the hardest fields abroad.' (vi) In his opening chapter, from the site of Persepolis, Cash ruminates on empires and 'The Coming of a New Day,' commenting on 'hundreds of miles of new roads [which] were being opened in all parts of the country.' (2-3) Cash presents a brief biography of Riza Khan, a précis of recent events in the Middle East, and the reforms sweeping through Persia. Chapter II considers 'Religious Movements in Persia' and including Zoroastrianism, Islam, and Babism / Bahaism. Cash predicts upheavals in Persia in terms of religion, noting: 'Increasingly Persians are coming to see that Islam and the constitution are contradictory methods of government.' (15) In his third chapter, 'Some of the Pioneers,' Cash outlines the history of missionaries in the country, including a quotation from Curzon's work which suggested their work was hopeless; the rest of the book considers the history of CMS missionaries in whose footsteps Cash followed, or whose

homes he visited. The book concludes with a 'vision' of 'the figure of Christ down the road beckoning us on to share the unfinished task of the Church in Persia.' (71)

Chappell, Jennie. *Three Brave Women. Stories of heroism in heathen lands of Mary Slessor of Calabar, Mrs. Burleigh of Cape Horn, and Mary Bird of Persia*. London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1920.

Author of many works on women pioneers, Chappell narrates amongst others the life of Isabella Bird-Bishop's relative, Mary Bird, who was a missionary in Persia with the Church Missionary Society. For a more general overview of female British missionaries in Persia, see *The Church Mission Society, and World Christianity, 1799-1999*, Chapter 4, 'CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884-1934' by Guli Francis-Dehqani (see bibliography for details).

Chardin, Sir John. *Travels in Persia 1673-1677.* Reprint of Edmund Lloyd's 1720 translation of *Voyages en Perse*. Preface by N. M. Penzer. Introduction by Sir Percy Sykes. London: Argonaut Press, 1927.

Sykes situates Chardin's travels within a broader scheme of seventeenth century European travellers to the court of Shah Abbas and his successor, and offers a summary of Chardin's own movements in Persia.

Chirol, Valentine. *Fifty Years in a Changing World.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1927.

Introductory: 'This is not an autobiography. There are few people whose lives are of sufficient importance to be worth putting under the microscope, and I have certainly no claim to be numbered amongst those few. If I have been induced to place some chapters of my life on records which circumstances have perhaps invested with a wider and more permanent interest, it is because I have lived in a period of immense and immensely rapid changes all over the world…' The thirty pages of Chapters X-XII are of specific interest, 'Across Persia in 1881,' 'Persia Revisited in 1902,' and 'Two Cruises in the Persian Gulf.'

_____. *With Pen and Brush in Eastern Lands When I Was Young.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1929.

This work repeats some of the material of *Fifty Years*, but Chirol was persuaded by friends that 'nobody would remember in 1929 what I had written in 1926' and by his publishers who within this book included many of his watercolour paintings brought back from his travels. Chapters six and seven cover his Persian trips rather unenthusiastically. Facing page 42 is a colour reproduction of his painting of 'My Camp in the Gorges of the Karun River in Persia.'

Daulier-Deslandes, Andre. *The Beauties of Persia: or an account of the most interesting features in that kingdom, with the addition of a map of the country, and several illustrations sketched on the spot*. Translated by A. T. Wilson. London: The Persia Society, 1926.

Daulier-Deslandes was deputed to Persia by French merchants in or around 1664; as Wilson writes in his brief introductory note, Daulier-Deslandes was 'contemporary with Chardin, Tavernier, and Thévenot, and met all three when visiting the ruins of Persepolis. His book first appeared in 1673, and has not been reprinted. Copies are now very rare.' See below for further publications by Wilson.

Dickson, William. *East Persia: A backwater of the Great War.* London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1924.

Brigadier-General Dickson was Inspector-General of Communications in East Persia. He acknowledges the liminality of Persia within the war, but points to the complexities of warfare there as sufficient justification for his work: 'Among the many "side shows" of the Great War, there were probably few where problems of so complex a character were presented for solution as in East Persia. … It is thought… that a few sketches of the work of the East Persian Line of Communications and of conditions of service in that part of the world, though they relate to but a small backwater of the great flood that surged through the world from 1914 to 1918, may be of interest not only to the military, but also to the general reader.' (v) This work focuses mainly on the communication and supply lines which ran from British Baluchistan, the very edge of eastern Persia to Meshed and then Askhabad in Russian Transcaspia. Dickson notes 'the story of the South Persia Rifles has been told elsewhere, and in any case would be out of place here. Suffice to say that, though it had for a time a chequered career, it was, before its final disbandment in 1921, probably the finest military force, composed of Persians, that has ever been seen in that country.' (34-5)

Donohoe, M. H. *With the Persian Expedition*. London: Edward Arnold, 1919.

Dedicated 'To the memory of my comrades of the Imperial and Dominion Forces who, in the concluding year of the Great War, gave their lives for the world's freedom in Persia and Transcaucasia.' For twenty years previous to the war, Donohoe had worked as Special Correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, and for the first eighteen months of the war worked as war chronicler with the Entente armies around Europe. Donohoe then joined the army, and was sent to Persia to join Dunsterville's forces in the north-west of the country, the experience of which the book describes from its beginnings in February 1918 until September 1919.

Dunsterville, Lionel Charles. *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*. London: Edward Arnold, 1920.

Initially charged with preventing German and Turkish invasion of Persia and thus Central Asia and the Caucasus, Dunsterville led a small force of British soldiers in and around north-western Persia during 1918. In his Preface he states: 'This book is not intended to form a precise record of military operations and will be of small value to the student of strategy and tactics; it is written solely with the design of interesting the general reader.' (v) The work forms a small part of Dunsterville's life-writing oeuvre. Many of his other works' titles relate to his position as inspiration for Rudyard Kipling's character Stalky in *Stalky and Co.* (1899), and these include *Stalky's Reminiscences* (1930), *"Stalky" Settles Down* (1932), and *Stalky's Adventures* (1936).

Dyer, Reginald. *The Raiders of the Sarhad: Being the account of a campaign of arms and bluff against the brigands of the Persian-Baluchi border during the Great War.* London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1921.

Brigadier-General Dyer had attended Sandhurst in 1884-5, Dunsterville in 1883-4 (see above). While Dunsterville's force focused on the north-west of Persian, Dyer's men were in the south-east. Dyer's preface opens: 'With the greatest diffidence I have at last made up my mind to write the story of my small campaign with the Sarhad Raiders in 1916. This campaign sinks into utter insignificance when compared with the great deeds done in other theatres of war by men who said nothing about them. But, insignificant as it was, it forms a part of the mosaic of the Great Way, and for this reason may be of some general interest.' (5)

Edwards, A. Cecil. *A Persian Caravan.* London: Duckworth, 1928.

Edwards' fourteen sketches of life in Persia and incidents from his residence there offers a slight but entertaining read. The sketches are not contextualised by date, and include 'The Clock,' 'Omar's Grave,' and 'The King's Birthday.' The images provided are from miniatures owned by Edwards himself, and not related to the subject matter of the text, although as Edwards writes, 'they have been included… because they represent, with more finish and fidelity than ever the author can hope to attain, some of the people whom he has endeavoured to portray.' (6) The work was remarkably warmly reviewed in *Scottish Geographical Journal*, Vol. 45, Issue 5, September 1929, 'New Books,' p.304.

Ellis, Malcolm. *Express to Hindustan: An account of a motor-journey from London to Dehli*. London: John Lane, 1929.

NB Australian from *Scottish Geographical Journal Review*, but worth mentioning here for its demonstration of the increasing mechanisation of travel.

Fateh, Moustafa Khan. *The Economic Position of Persia.* London: P. S. King & Son, 1926.

First written in 1919 as his thesis for his degree at Columbia University, New York, the revised work seeks to 'present a view of the economic conditions existing in Persia at the present time, and also to suggest remedies which these conditions indicate as being necessary, possible and practical.' (v) Fateh believes there is 'very little known in Europe and America about present-day Persia,' a statement which could well be challenged. He claims value for his work in its singular approach and it being 'an attempt by a Persian who is more entitled to known about his own country than Europeans who have based their information merely on a short visit to the country.' (v) Chapters include 'Agriculture and Irrigation,' 'Communications,' and 'The Oil Industry.'

Forbes-Leith, F. A. C. *By Car to India*. London: Hutchinson, 1925.

Forbes-Leith acknowledges many friends' scepticism about his project in his Introduction, but secures companions, and moreover funding 'by means of a travel film and by the interesting journalism to which the journey would lend itself.' (7) One of Forbes-Leith's companions is 'Mr Montagu Redknap' one of Pathé Frères 'experts in travel cinematography.' (8) The journey from Leeds to Quetta took five and half months. Chapters XII-XVI cover their time in Persia, 'Into Beautiful Persia,' 'Towards Teheran,' 'We Lose Wroe,' 'Feted by Nomads,' and 'Last and Worst Obstacles.'

_____. *Checkmate: Fighting tradition in Central Persia*. London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1927.

Dedicated to his wife 'and other British women who, like her, are content to live and share in the lives and work of their men in the remote and uttermost parts of the world.' Relates his time in Persia 'in the service of one of the feudal noblemen of Persia. This was a unique experience, and gave me the opportunity of getting in close touch with the people in a way that is denied to many who have been resident in the country for a whole lifetime.' (vii) The introduction goes on to give a summary history of Persia up to the 1920s, 'years of critical event for Persia' which Forbes-Leith has watched 'with the greatest interest.' Describing Reza Khan as 'a mighty man,' he hopes that 'ere long she may resume her lost position amongst the great nations of the world.' (x) The work refers briefly to the work of "Dunsterforce" in 1917 and then relates Forbes-Leith's experiences including meeting Reza Khan in 1919, then working for His Excellency Sardar Akram from 1920-24. The work concludes with another resounding expression of admiration for Reza Khan, saying he is 'verily… the greatest Persian who has lived since the reign of Abbas the Great. That he may live long to rule a prosperous Persia, is the heartfelt desire of all who know him.' (242)

Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy. *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406.* Translated and introduction by Guy Le Strange. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power. London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1928.

Part of a new series entitled 'The Broadway Travellers' aimed at republishing forgotten or previously untranslated travelogues. Denison Ross was Director of the School of Oriental Studies and Professor of Persian in the University of London; Dr Eileen Power was Reader in Medieval Economic History in the University of London. On his journey to Timur in Samarkand, Clavijo travelled through northern Persia in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

Haig, H. F. *Peeps at Many Lands*: *Persia*. London: A. & C. Black, 1923.

With a small sketch map and eight watercolour illustrations, this book provides a brief introduction to aspects of Persia and its culture, including: 'Her History,' 'The Country and the Climate,' 'Rustam, son of Zal,' and 'Travelling,' which seems to attempt to dissuade rather than encourage readers. The ornate cover contains a pasted on colour illustration of 'a gabr lady.' The series, *Peeps at Many Lands*, was aimed at children, and included books on Burma, Ceylon, Edinburgh, Finland, India, Kashmir and Siam amongst others.

Hale, F. *From Persian Uplands*. London: Constable & Co., 1920.

A collection of letters, all addressed to 'Dear M.,' dated from August 1913 to March 1919. There is no introduction, preface or dedication, but Hale does make clear in his first letter that he is returning to Persia; it seems likely that he was in the British Army, and that M. is his beloved.

Hardinge, Arthur H. *A Diplomatist in the East*. London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1928.

Hardinge's memoir covers his time in Constantinople, Egypt, Zanzibar and East Africa, South Africa and in the final chapter, Persia. He offers a brief overview of Perso-British diplomatic relations, and describes his memories of the Shah's visit to England in 1873, during which his father 'was one of the officers on the Staff attached by Queen Victoria to his person while in England.' (260) While British Minister in Persia from 1900, Hardinge worked with Cecil Spring Rice, 'the British *Chargé d'Affaires*, my own schoolfellow and friend, both at Eton and Balliol.' (267) Hardinge offers a number of portraits of European diplomats in Teheran, as well as a description of the Shah's journey to England in 1902, on which Hardinge accompanied him. Furthermore, Hardinge describes accompanying Curzon, another old Balliol friend 'and brother-fellow of All Souls,' on his tour of the Persian Gulf 1904. Overall the ninety four pages on Persia are densely written and filled with diplomatic details, with some descriptions of travel.

Herbert, Thomas. *Travels in Persia 1627-29*. Abridged and edited by Sir William Foster. London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1928.

Like the 1928 edition of Clavijo, this edition of the perennially popular Herbert forms part of 'The Broadway Travellers' series.

Ironside, Catherine M. *Doctors' Doings in Persia, in three scenes.* London: Church Missionary Society, 1920.

A play intended to demonstrate the differences between European and Persian medical practices and inspire missionary work. The female European doctor lectures the patients on Jesus and the importance of coming to church in scene 2, before attending to them in scene 3. Incidentally, Rice's book on Mary Bishop is recommended for secondary reading on Persia.

Jackson, A. V. Williams. *Zoroastrian Studies: the Iranian Religion and Various Monographs.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1928.

The result of several years of study, Jackson writes fulsomely on Zoroastrianism, including chapters on Zoroaster, 'The Host of Heaven,' 'The Legions of Hell,' 'The Moral and Ethical Teachings of the Ancient Zoroastrian Religion,' and a lengthy section on 'The Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Freedom of the Will.'

Kennard, Coleridge. *Suhaïl. A diary of travels in Persia and Baluchistan.* London: The Richards Press, 1927.

Kennard's chapters trace the route Tehran – Isfahan – Yezd – Kerman – Bam – The Lut Desert – Baluchistan. The impressionistic work seems to record the journey south after Kennard had already spent some years in Persia, and closes with the dates 1914-27. The prose is somewhat fanciful and concerned very much with the thoughts and feelings of the diarist rather than the events or facts of the journey. For example: 'From the edge of the verandah [sic] I can still look back on the mountains over Tehran. The shine, as through a veil of silk… I take – a last futility – the bunch of flowers they have brought me and throw it there in the wind. Flights of larks are soaring. I think the spring and larks will be for me always part of this moment.' (18) The book was warmly reviewed by Percy Sykes in *The Geographical Journal* (December 1927) and by Wolseley Haig in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (1928), who writes: 'This book, discursive, curious, introspective, and intermittently observant, breathes the joy of Persian travel…' (181)

Landor, Arnold Henry Savage. *Everywhere: The memoirs of an explorer*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1924.

Chapters XXVIII – XXXI cover Landor's 1901 trip to Persia, during which he met the Griffiths in Kerman: see chapter 3 of this thesis on *Behind the Veil*; and pages 266-267 in *Everywhere*, where Landor describes being a guest of the Consul Major Philott for 4 days at the end of October and beginning of September 1901. See also *Across Coveted Lands* above.

Linton, James. *Persian Sketches*. London: Church Missionary Society, 1923.

Linton was Bishop in Persia and the foreword to his book is by Percy Sykes, which quotes from his own *History of Persia*. It shares with Hume-Griffith's text a preoccupation with the status of women in Persia: 'There is among Persian women an upward movement for which we thank God.' (111) Chapters include 'A Caravan Journey,' 'The Muleteer,' 'The Merchant' and 'The Faith of a Persian.'

Miles, Samuel Barrett. *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf. 2 vol.* London: Harrison & Sons, 1919.

The biographical note points to Colonel Miles' work as 'Resident in Aden in 1867; Political Agent and Consul at Muscat in 1874; Consul-General of Baghdad in 1879, Agent and Consul-General of Zanzibar in 1881, etc.' He died in 1914 after increasing blindness and 'serious internal troubles.' (Preface) The detailed study was published from the manuscript of his work as his widow found it. Chapters include 'History of Early Colonization,' 'The Persian Gulf Under Islam,' 'The Portuguese in Eastern Arabia,' 'History of the Commerce of the Persian Gulf,' and 'The Tribes of the Persian Gulf.'

Ness, E. Wilhelmina. *Ten Thousand Miles in Two Continents*. London: Methuen & Co., 1929.

Dedicated 'to Miss Ella Sykes, the charming writer on Persia without whose encouragement this book would never have been written.' Ness' acknowledgement cites several works on Africa and Curzon's *Persia*. Part I, nearly 200 pages, covers her journey 'From Cairo to the Cape;' Part II 'Across the Syrian Desert Into Persia' is less than seventy pages long, and covers her journey which started in the autumn of 1923. A very small section of the book therefore considers Persia, but it is an interesting example not only for the breadth of travels undertaken, but also the nod to Percy Sykes' title, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*. Furthermore, Ness makes clear the increasing motor travel taking place in the Middle East as well as Thomas Cook's increasing involvement in tourism in the region (208).

Nevill, Ralph. *Unconventional Memories: Europe-Persia-Japan*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923.

In his substantial autobiography, Nevill writes in chapters V-VII of his time in Persia of which he still thinks fondly. The journey begins in 1888 with the diplomat and minister in Persia, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff. Nevill mentions Sir Arthur Nicolson, 'his children and charming wife' leaving for England – one of these children, Harold Nicolson, returned in the 1920s, and was visited by his wife Vita Sackville-West. (132) Chapter VIII describes the Shah's third visit to Europe.

Norden, Hermann. *Under Persian Skies. A record of travel by the old caravan routes of Western Persia.* London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1928.

Norden writes an easily flowing travelogue covering Bushire, Shiraz, Isfahan and Teheran as well as travels through Syria and modern-day Iraq by car. Percy Sykes' review of the work in *The Geographical Journal* (March, 1929) describes Norden as an American, and concludes: 'His views are those of a traveller passing through a country without knowing the language and apparently without having studied the works of his predecessors. In spite of these drawbacks he presents a generally accurate account of changing conditions in Iraq and Persia. The illustrations are good and to the point, while the map does credit to the publisher.' This does not, perhaps, do full justice to the readable work; the pictures are certainly fascinating. Norden published several other travelogues.

Norperforce Gazette, The. No. 1 (March 20, 1919). Kazvin: Norperforce, 1919.

This pamphlet was designed to entertain and instruct the British troops left in north Persia ("Norper…") whilst others were demobilized. Bateman-Champian, the General Commanding Office, wrote a brief foreword to the first edition, hoping that it might also offer 'an opportunity to both Officers and Men… to get in touch with their pre-war occupations, or, in the case of those who had not started a career in 1914, to help them to pick up something that may be of use to them in after—life.' (1) The first pamphlet includes a history of Kasvin; some poetry; list of services for Church or England, and separately Nonconformist and Presbyterian believers; and a particularly amusing 'Short "History" of Persia by "Caprice".' Highlights include: 'The ancient name of the country was Iran (pronounced Eeran) presumably derived from the action of the first man who saw it.'; and 'the Persians were early able to resume their industrial life and soon surpassed their trade rivals in the manufacture of cats and the breeding of carpets.' (4)

Persia Magazine, The. Vol. 1, No. 1 (March, 1921). London: The Persia Society, 1921.

In his foreword, Lord Lamington writes: 'It is hoped that this publication of lectures may bring to the notice of the public that the Persia Society has resumed its activities, which were in abeyance during the war. Perhaps it may be also the means of getting us members. … Persia was the centre of an ancient Oriental civilization, and this fact alone affords absorbing interest in everything connected with that country, in addition to the importance that her future must have on the fortunes of our India Empire. It is for the purpose of stimulating interest, sympathy, and understanding between Persia and this country that our Society exists, and I trust that this little magazine will help in this direction.' (1) Articles include 'War and post-war developments in the Persian Gulf,' C. A. Walpole, and 'Some

opinions on Persia and the Persians,' J. H. Grove-White, and a literary supplement of Persian tales translated by D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer.

Phillott, Douglas Craven. *Higher Persian grammar for the use of the Calcutta University: showing differences between Afghan and modern Persian, with notes on rhetoric*. Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1919.

Dedicated to Mr. Justice Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, 'in recognition both of personal friendship and of the services he has rendered to oriental scholarship.'

As Secretary to the Board of Examiners in Calcutta, and Persian Fellow at Calcutta University, Lieutenant-Colonel Phillott gathered examples of modern colloquial Persian from many sources, having spent much of his career around the North-West Frontier of India (Foreword to *The Farasnāma*, Asutosh Mookerjee, iv). From 1912 he worked at Cambridge University. He also published widely on Hindustani, and several of his works are still in print.

Pope, Arthur Upham. *Persian Art and Culture*. New York & San Francisco: New Orient Society of America, 1928.

Reprinted from the "Asiatic Review," April and July 1928. A thirty page essay on the history of Persian artistic production, offering pointers to aesthetic responses to Persian culture.

Powell, Edward Alexander. *By Camel and Car to the Peacock Throne*. New York and London: The Century Co., 1923.

The prolific American writer, Major Powell describes his journeys through much of the Middle East by car. Chapters VII-X of his work cover his time in Persia: 'Across the Land of the Lion and the Sun,' 'The City of the Peacock Throne,' 'Politics and Petroleum in Persia,' and 'The Road of the Great Conquers.' Powell acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Gertrude Bell, whose 1907 work *The Desert and the Sown* he echoes in his final chapter, 'From the Desert to the Sown.' His Acknowledgements are also interesting for the selection of American writers on Persia whom Powell adopts as his guides, as well as Powell's gratitude to the editor of the London *Times* for placing at Powell's disposal 'the remarkable despatches of "The Times's" special correspondents in Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia, from which portions of my account of recent political events in those countries have been drawn.' (xi)

Rawlinson, Alfred. *Adventures in the Near East, 1918-22*. London: Andrew Melrose, 1923.

In his Preface Rawlinson thanks his late commanders including Dunsterville (see above). In his Introduction, Admiral Sir Percy Scott summarises "Toby" Rawlinson's career in the Seventeenth Lancers, then a brief spell dabbling in motor-car racing; time as an early aviation specialist; work in the Anti-Air Defence; and then a noted officer during WWI in the Near East. Scott concludes his introduction with an attempt to shame the British Army into offering Rawlinson a more generous pension than given at present, following Rawlinson's imprisonment in Turkey for twenty months. A second introduction by Dunsterville opens Part I of Rawlinson's work, 'The "Hush-Hush" Army'; General Sir G. Milne introduces Part II, 'Intelligence in Transcaucasia'; and Sir Charles Harrington, Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces in the Near East, introduces Part III, 'In Kemalist Turkey.' Chapter III of Part I describes Rawlinson's time in Persia from the summer of 1918, 'The Road and the Famine.' Rawlinson records passing the cuneiform inscription of Darius at Behistun, which his father Sir Henry Rawlinson had spent twelve years translating: 'I gazed at it as much astonished at the terrible difficulties he must have overcome in obtaining his tracings as I had ever been amazed at his success in his apparently impossible task of afterwards deciphering them.' (48) See also page 59 for his impression on first meeting General Dunsterville: 'never in the course of a very varied career have I met any personality so instantly claiming or so permanently retaining my respect and sympathy.'

Rice, Cecil Arthur Spring. *The letters and friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice: A record. Vol. 1*. London: Constable & Co., 1920.

Spring-Rice was British Minster in Teheran 1906-08, and thus responsible for allowing Persians to take *bast* in the Legation gardens in 1907, a key event in the Persian Constitutional Revolution. A two volume edition was published in 1929 also by Constable.

Rice, Clara Colliver. *Persian Women and Their Ways: The experiences & impressions of a long sojourn amongst the women of the land of the Shah with an intimate description of their characteristics, customs & manner of living*. London: Seeley Service & Co., 1923.

Featuring the common emblem of the lion holding a sword in front of the rays of a rising sun, Rice's three-hundred page work offers immense detail on all aspects of Persian women's lives that she has encountered. Chapters include 'Parsi, Jewish & Armenian Women,' 'Moslem Women of the Towns,' 'Village Women,' 'Tribeswomen – The Bakhtiaries,' and 'Tribeswomen – The Qashgais.' She also covers diverse topics including 'Dress,' 'Food & Sweets' and 'Shopping.' Her chapter 'The Englishwoman in Persia' offers her own analysis of what is so appealing to the country to her fellow compatriots, be they missionaries or independent travellers. Her acknowledgements include Miss Tweedie, whose work *A Girl's Ride in Iceland* is discussed alongside Ella Sykes' travels in Chapter 1.

_____. *Shirin. A story of modern Persia*. London: The Sheldon Press, 1929.

Opens with an epigraph from Sheean's *The New Persia* (see below) including the lines: 'The education which will liberate and re-establish Persia is now only beginning… but it is at least a great deal to be

able to say that it is under way, and that our own time may see a Persia worthy of its ruins." (v) The novel opens in 1917, with the principal characters Haji Muhammad, a merchant from Isfahan, and Shirin, the younger daughter of his second wife, who dreams of 'education and emancipation.' (5) Rice writes: 'All the characters in this story are fictitious, but for each a counterpart might be found in the present-day life of Persia.' (vi) The story has a strong moral element and a somewhat saccharine conclusion.

Ross, Elizabeth Ness MacBean. *A Lady Doctor in Bakhtiari Land. Edited by J. N. MacBean Ross*. London: Leonard Parsons, 1921.

This book was published after Ross' death in Serbia from typhus during WWI. Ross' first chapter opens: 'What would the loss have been to the national character and to the British Empire had Robinson Crusoe never been written and the Arabian Nights never been translated into English? Let the modern educationalist answer. Nurtured in my nursery days on these two classics, my earliest dreams were peoples with visitants from far off lands.' (9) Stunned by the swiftness of her departure from Scotland, Ross is 'quite unable to serve up any of those practical hints which form the recognised condiments to Chapter I of every well-ordered book of travel.' (12) She writes, 'My work was to a great extent – but by no means exclusively – among the Bibis or great ladies, wives, sisters and mothers of the leading Khans. My visits often lasted over several weeks in one Ghabëh or castle. Between many of these ladies and myself, friendships grew up and I was thus able to form some conception of their pleasures and their pains, their work and their pastimes, and enjoyed the almost unique privilege of getting a glimpse into the home life of the Bakhtiaris and in some cases into their way of thinking, their mental atmosphere.' (23)

Rundall, Frank Montagu, trans. *Selections from the Rubaiyât & Odes of Hâfiz. Collected from many old Persian manuscripts and rendered into English verse by a member of the Persia Society of London; together with an account of Sufi mysticism.* London: J. M. Watkins, 1920.

Dedicated to his daughters for their 'most valuable assistance,' Rundall's work opens with a substantial introductory Preface and then a thirteen page glossary. The book is then equally divided between the Rubaiyât and the Odes, with some notes, and no illustrations.

Sackville-West, Vita. *Passenger to Teheran*. London: L. & V. Woolf, 1926.

Dedicated to her diplomat husband Harold Nicolson, whom Sackville-West visited during his time in Teheran. Sackville-West's travelogue opens with a dissection of the value of travel-writing, and its contemporary forms. Her route with Dorothy Wellesley, who is expunged from the narrative, went through Egypt and India, which she also almost completely elides. In Iraq she met Gertrude Bell not long before her sudden death; Bell took her to meet King Faisal. Within Persia Sackville-West visited Teheran, Isfahan, Kum, and witnessed the coronation of Reza Khan in April 1926.

_____. *Twelve Days: An account of a journey across the Bakhtiari mountains in South-western Persia*. London: L. & V. Woolf, 1928.

Dedicated like *Passenger to Teheran* to Harold Nicolson. Sackville-West's second travelogue takes a very different form to her first, being more geographically and temporally compact. From recollections of her short journey, however, Sackville-West embarks on philosophical considerations of many sorts, as well as depicting the movement of the nomadic tribes.

Shah, Sirdar Ikbal Ali. *Westward to Mecca : a journey of adventure through Afghanistan, Bolshevik Asia, Persia, Iraq and Hijaz to the cradle of Islam.* London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1928.

Chapter IX, 'Omar and Shakespeare,' contains an interesting if at times over-stretched comparison of the two men, presented as kindred spirits by Ali Shah. Chapter X on 'The Inflexible Persia,' writes of it as unaltered since the time of Hafiz despite 'many vicissitudes,' as 'it has helped the imagination of men throughout the ages, and still retains the power of conquering hearts.' He continues: 'The spirit of philosophy, a happy-go-lucky outlook on life's tragedies, a confirmed belief in the old adage, "What is written is written," is there in Teheran to-day as it was a thousand years ago.' (185) He describes seeing the day of mourning on the tenth day of Mohurram, and the 'mystery, folk-lore and superstition' in villages as he travels to Kurdistan, particularly relating to childbirth and rearing.

Sheean, Vincent. *The New Persia*. New York and London: The Century Co., 1927.

The American journalist (and later novelist and biographer) Sheean promises in his book to tell the truth of the matter, and not try to please any of the interested persons or groups in Persia, including Russians, British, Americans, and of course Persians themselves. He offers 'a brief survey of the Persian problem as it presents itself after the coronation of the new Shah.' (Foreword, vii)

Stoddard, Lothrop. *The New World of Islam*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1922.

The American Islamic scholar and eugenicist writes on 'the Mohammedan Revival' and 'Pan-Islamism' amongst other topics. Much of his writing on Islam in Persia is taken from Shuster's work of 1912 (see above).

Sykes, Percy. *Persia.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922

A brief history of Persia from about 2000 B.C. to the Armistice, intended as part of a series of histories; only Hogarth's edition on Arabia and Sykes' on Persia were completed. The work contains a

brief reference to Sykes' work with the South Persia Rifles, and ends pessimistically: 'The friends of Persia watch her present plight with sorrow and hope that, before it is too late, the country will realize that it is marching down the broad road that leads to destruction.' (179)

_____. *The Right Honourable Sir Mortimer Durand: A biography*. London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1926

Sykes writes a loyal and admiring portrait of his colleague, whom he describes in his preface as 'an official of outstanding ability, but also a great English gentleman, and the friendship with which he honoured me will remain one of my choicest memories.' In his preface Sykes also thanks his sister Ella for her assistance with the biography. Although much of the political background of the book is of interest, the chapters specifically relating to Persia in the 1890s are 17 – At the Court of Persia, and 18 – The Assassination of Shah Nasir-u-Din.

Thompson, William. *The Land of the Three Wise Men.* London: Church Missionary Society, 1920.

A seven page pamphlet, which describes Persians as children, and includes a brief overview of travel in Persia; the working conditions in factories; and CMS missionary work.

Townley, Susan. *'Indiscretions' of Lady Susan*. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1922.

In her autobiography, Townley writes of her life with her husband in Lisbon, Berlin, Rome, Peking, Constantinople, the Holy Land, America, The Argentine, Bucharest, and in Chapter XII, Persia (233-253). Her diplomat husband was appointed to the Court of Shah Sultan Ahmed in 1912, and had known the country himself since 1892. Townley heard of the 1914 coronation from her husband.

Verinder, Alice. *The Cry of the Children: An account of conditions in carpet-weaving factories in Persia*. London: Church Missionary Society, 1920.

A seven page pamphlet, which includes the story of two sisters who converted to Christianity after becoming crippled from working in a carpet factory.

Williamson, John W. *In a Persian Oil Field: A Study in Scientific and Industrial Development*. London: Ernest Benn, 1927.

'The main object of this study… is to show, in broad outline only, the extent to which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company has applied and is applying, especially in Persia, scientific knowledge and scientific methods in the oil industry; and also to describe… some of the industrial, educational and social developments that have arise, and have been sedulously cultivated, as natural outgrowths of the Company's work.' (8)

Wilson, Arnold T. *Early Spanish and Portuguese Travellers in Persia*. Guildford & Esher: Billing & Sons, 1927.

A thirty-two page essay on fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth Spanish and Portuguese travellers to Persia, with occasional reference to contemporaneous British travellers.

_____. *The Persian Gulf: An historical sketch from the earliest times to the beginning of the twentieth century.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1928.

Dedicated to his wife. Wilson had lived in the Persian Gulf for eighteen years when he undertook to write this book, but 'makes no claim to original research, the bulk of the book being admittedly and almost inevitably compiled from the very voluminous works of previous writers.' (Preface, vii) Chapters include 'Primitive Man in the Persian Gulf and Oman,' 'The Middle Ages,' 'The Coming of the Portuguese,' 'The Eighteenth Century and the Growth of British Influence,' and 'The Persian Gulf in International Politics.'

Wood, M. M. *Glimpses of Persia.* London: Church Missionary Society, 1922.

Wood's work recommends Persia to those whose doctors recommend 'a complete change,' and wryly notes the absence of Thomas Cook support for overland travellers in Persia (9). He acknowledges Sykes' *The History of Persia* as the source of 'practically all the historical information given' in *Glimpses*. Chapters include 'Men who made Persian history,' 'Things Persian,' and 'Three types of modern missionary work.' The work concludes with the chapter 'Contact,' which lists organisations both in England and in Persia whose members work for Christianity in Persia and could deservedly be prayed for. Finally, there is an advertisement for the types of missionaries needed by the CMS for Persia.

Wratislaw, Albert. *A Consul in the East*. Edinburgh & London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1924.

Wratislaw's autobiography covers his work in several countries and cities including Constantinople, Salonica, Ezerum, Smyrna, Bulgaria, Basra and Crete. Chapter X introduces his work as British Consul-General in Tabriz, beginning in the autumn of 1903. This and the following chapter outline his work, describe Tabriz and the European occupants of the town, a cholera outbreak, and the Labaree affair which occupied both Wratislaw and the American Consul. Wratislaw comes into quite regular contact with the Valiahd or Crown Prince. Chapter XII describes the siege of Tabriz, and Arthur Moore (see chapter 3). On page 244, Wratislaw writes 'the ubiquitous British correspondent made his inevitable appearance.' He invited Moore to stay with him 'so as to have him under my eye, and I derived much solace from his companionship, though little suspecting what a firebrand I had admitted into a respectable Consulate.' Later he writes: 'Moore is still my very dear friend, and after satisfying his combative instincts to the full in the Great War, has now settled down to a respectable life; but at

this time, if there was a row on, as a good Irishman he felt bound to be in it. He certainly sold me a pup on this occasion…' (250)

1930-1940

Alexander, Constance M. *A Modern Wayfarer in Persia*. London: Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., 1931.

Alexander's Introduction makes clear the substantial changes that have taken place in travel to Persia over the last two decades: 'now that it is gradually being made accessible to the modern traveller, who wanders forth to see for himself the lands and peoples of the world, without official, business, or any ulterior motive, to him I offer this small book. In it I have tried to collect facts and histories of the different towns as well as hints for those contemplating a tour. For the advent of the motor car has changed Persia, now one can cover the long distances which separate towns in a few hours, and at a fair speed, compared to the laborious journeys of fifteen or twenty years ago, when the pony or mule was the only form of conveyance.' (9) Alexander contrasts her contemporary helpful hints with Curzon's *Persia* and Browne's *A Year Amongst the Persians*: 'Through they are very interesting reading, the former is most difficult to obtain, while both are too large and cumbersome to carry about with limited luggage, and also were written before the changed conditions of modern Persia.' (11) Alexander's tour lasted about five weeks in April-May 1930, and took in Teheran, Isfahan, Persepolis, Shiraz and Tabriz. Concludes with an eight-page 'Résumé' of Persian history.

American Institute for Persia Art and Archaeology. New York City: The Institute, 1932 onwards.

A biannual journal outlines the Institute's work. Articles include: 'Persian Frescoes' (October 1932), 'The Archaeological Promise of the Zagros Region' (June 1934), 'The Third International Congress and Exhibition for Iranian Art and Archaeology' (by Arthur Upham Pope, December 1935), and a note on the respective values of four British societies: the Royal Asiatic Society, The Royal Central Asian Society, The India Society and the Iran Society (June, 1938, pp. 270-271). There are also regular book reviews, and usually a large number of illustrations.

Baggallay, Herbert Lacy (ed.), *Catalogue of the Library of His Majesty's Legation at Tehran*, Provisional edition. Great Britain: Embassy (Iran), 1935.

This typewritten document offers a snapshot of the broad library at the Legation, as well as which travelogues found their way back to Teheran.

Non-travelogues include: Dickens, Eliot's *Romola*, Descartes, Erasmus, Firdausi, Goethe, Victor Hugo, Samuel Johnson, John Stuart Mill, John Milton, the Concise Dictionary of National Biography, Sir Isaac Newton, Samuel Pepys' diary, Alexander Pope, Pushkin, a good deal of Sir Walter Scott, Shakespeare, Percy Shelley, Jonathan Swift, Anthony Trollope, and Mrs Trollope's *The Refugee in America* 1832, Virgil, Voltaire, and a large collection of Xenophon.

Texts relating to Persia include: Arbuthnot *Persian Portraits* 1887; Valentine Baker *Clouds in the East* 1880; S. G. W. Banjamin *Persia* 1901; Wilson, *Bibliography of Persia* 1930; Isabella Bishop *Journeys in Persia & Kurdistan* 1891; Anne Blunt *Bedouin Traibes of the Euphrates* 1879 and *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* 1881; Bradley-Birt *Through Persia* 1909; E. G. Browne *A Year Amongst the Persians* 1926 edition, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909* 1910 and *A Persian Anthology* 1927; Burnes *Travels in Bokhara* 1835; the 1927 edition of Chardin's *Travels in Persia*; Valentine Chirol *The Middle Easten Question* 1903 and *Indian Unrest* (reprint) 1910; Conolly *Journey to the North of India* 1834; Curzon *Russia in Central Asia* 1889, *Persia and the Persian Questions* 1892; Doughty *Arabia Deserta*, 1927 abridged edition with introduction by T. E. Lawrence; Ella Durand *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia* 1902; Dyer *The Raiders of the Sarhad* 1921; Catalogue of the 1931 exhibition at the RA; Floyer *Unexplored Baluchistan* 1882; Fowle *Travels in the Middle East* 1916; Fraser *Persia and Turkey in Revolt* 1910; Galton *The Art of Travel, 3rd edn.* 1860; Goldsmid *Telegraph and Travel* 1874 and *Eastern Persia* 1876; Hakluyt 1927 edition, and over twenty editions from the Hakluyt Society reprints; Hogarth *The Penetration of Arabia* 1904 and *Arabia* 1922; Holdich *The Indian Borderland* 1901; Houtum-Schindler *Eastern Persian Irak* 1896; Williams Jackson *Zoroaster* 1901, *Persia Past and Present* 1906, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam* 1911; Kipling's *Kim* 1901; Layard *Nineveh and its Remains* 1850, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia* 1887; Lynch *Armenia* 1901; John Malcolm's *The History of Persia* 1815; Marco Polo, an John Murray 1875 edition; Miles *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf* 1919; Montague's Letters 1820; Morier *A Journey Through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor* 1812, *A Second Journey* 1818; *Adventures of Hajji Baba* 1912 edition, and *Hajji Baba in England* 1925; Augustus Mounsey's *A Journey Through the Caucasus and the Interior of Persia* 1872; Sir William Muir's *Mahomet and Islam* 1837, *The Life of Mohammad* 1912, and *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* 1915; a selection of works by Carsten Neibuhr; several Persia Society publications including papers by Sykes, Duran, Curzon and Browne; Sir Robert Ker Porter's *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenian, Ancient Bablyonia* 1821; Alexander Powell's *by Camel and Car to the Peacock Throne* 1923; Henry Rawlinson's *England and Russia in the East* 1875; Sir Edward Denison Ross' *Islam* 1928 and *Eastern Art and Literature* 1928; various editions of *The Gulistan* by Sa'di; Sackville-West's *The Land*, *Passenger to Teheran*, and *Twelve Days*; Henry Savage-

Landor's *In the Forbidden Land* 1898 and *Across Coveted Lands* 1902; *Scott's Last Expedition* by Captain Scott, published 1923; Denison Ross' 1933 edition of *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*; Freya Stark's *The Valley[s] of the Assassins* 1934; Sir Aurel Stein's *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks* 1933; Ella Sykes' *Through Persia on a Side Saddle* and *Persia and Its People* (1910); Percy Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, *A History of Persia (2 vol.)* 1915, *Persia* 1922, *Sir Mortimer Durand: A Biography* 1926, *The Influence of Persia on Europe* 1931; H. J. Whigham's *The Persian Problem* 1903; Sir Arnold T. Wilson's *The Persian Gulf* 1928, *Persia* 1932, and several pamphlets.

Bell, Gertrude. *Persian Pictures*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1940.

Bell's 1894 work was republished again after its 1928 second edition, this time with an introduction by Vita Sackville-West, whose *Passenger to Teheran* had appeared in 1928, and recounted a stay with Bell in Baghdad in the spring of that year. Sackville-West's introduction is rather more exuberant than Denison Ross' of 1928. Furthermore, following the rediscover of Bell's Persian letters, Sackville-West encourages her readers to compare the 'spontaneity' of the letters with the 'same subjects in the *Pictures*… which she had worked up into a more literary form.' (20)

Binyon, Laurence, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray. *Persian Miniature Painting: Including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House, January-March, 1931.* London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

This large scale book was intended to offer 'a permanent record, more detailed than the catalogue sold at the Exhibition' of the miniatures and illustrated manuscripts contained at the 1931 Exhibition. Moreover, it intends to 'cover the whole field of Persian miniature-painting, though illustrated only by examples shown at Burlington House.' The Preface also points to the recent flourishing of study of Persian miniatures, including M. Blochet.

Bolton, John. *Perils in Persia*. London: Wright and Brown, 1939.

A comic novel recounting the exploits of Vincent Curle trying to outwit his millionaire boss, Steven Bronson, of the Anglo-India Corporation. Bronson must travel to Iraq, and is accompanied by his daughter Hildabelle. Bronson is kidnapped in Persia; Hildabelle rejects Curle's advances; Bronson is rescued; Hildabelle goes missing and is rescued by Edward Benton; Bronson appoints Hildabelle head of the Iraq office and gives his blessing to Benton marrying her and accompanying her to Iraq. The novel is not of particularly high quality, but indicates a demand for rollicking adventures set in the Middle East, curiously affiliated with a fictional company which echoes the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Boulton, W. H. *The Ancient Lands and Bible Series*. 6 vol. London: Sampson Low, 1932-4. *Volume 5: Elam, Media and Persia*. 1933.

Boulton recognises that 'the three peoples whose history is to be reviewed in this volume had fewer points on contact with the people of the Bible than any of those which have been dealt with in previous books of this series,' but stresses their connections 'with some important matters described in the Scriptures.' (1) Furthermore, he adds that his readers will come to realise that 'the Elamites, the Medes, and the Persians are peoples whose history deserves to be known, and that such a knowledge is a considerable help to a full appreciation of World history as it concerns the people of the Bible.' (2) Chapters include: 'The Medes and Babylon,' 'The Conquest of Babylon,' 'Cyrus and the Jews,' 'The Behistun Inscription,' and 'The Book of Esther.' The book is indicative of the wide popular knowledge of ancient Persian history and key figures such as Darius, and remarkable for its emphasis of the relevance of this history to scriptural understanding.

Braaksma, M. H. *Travel and Literature: An attempt at a literary appreciation of English travel-books about Persia, from the Middle Ages to the present day.* Groningen, Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1938.

Braaksma's work is evidence of the increasing self-reflectivity of travellers and travel-writers on the form of the work, and also indicates the early emergence of the study of travel-writing as a branch of literature. He explores the development of the genre and offers explanations for the shifts in tone across the centuries, as well as some close-reading analysis of some works. His work contains some surprising oversights (such as Bird-Bishop, Curzon and Sackville-West) and contains some extremely subjective commentary (Stark's *Valleys of the Assassins* is 'unpleasantly amphibious,' p.95) but is interesting reading nonetheless.

British Museum. *Photographs of casts of Persian sculptures of the Achaemenid period, mostly from Persepolis: twelve plates.* Dept. of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1932.

Large images of sculptures in the British Museum's collection, from a 'Temporary Exhibition of Casts from Persepolis' in May-December 1931.

Byron, Robert. *The Road to Oxiana*. London: Macmillan, 1937.

The single most famous and revered British travelogue which describes Persia between 1890 and 1940. Presented in the form of a diary, interspersed with comic transcriptions of conversations, digressions on art and architecture, letters and passport forms, the work blends serious research with a lightness of touch. Byron seeks the origins of Islamic art, and contrary to popular contemporary opinion sees the

Timurid era as the apogee of Persian art rather than the Safavid. The work begins in Europe, describes Cyprus, Jerusalem and Damascus, before entering Persia. An interlude in Afghanistan is followed by another period in Persia, and the book concludes with a final attempt to reach the Oxus in Afghanistan, before a departure to India and a return to England.

Coan, Frederick. *Yesterdays in Persia and Kurdistan*. Claremont, California: Saunders Studio Press, 1939.

An autobiography which records the American Reverend Coan's childhood in Persia with his missionary parents in the 1850s and 1860s; his own missionary work in the north-west of Persia and the broader Middle East; and his final visit to Persia in 1929.

Davies, Robert. *A Light Car Odyssey: being the diary of a road journey through India, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Europe to England*. London: "India" Publications, 1932.

A record of a journey from Belgaum to Bombay, Karachi, and Quetta; then through Persia to Baghdad, Damascus, the Balkans, Italy and via Germany to the west of England. Unlike Forbes-Leith's work, the title page proclaims this to be 'a guide for future travellers,' indicating that driving to and from India was increasing possible. The Preface opens: 'If there are any heroics in these pages, the fault lies at the door of my publisher. The book is little more than the log of a long journey.' (7) The right-hand pages take the form of a diary, while the left-hand pages offer some photographs and tables of distances and times. Pages 63 to 85 describe his route in Persia.

Donaldson, Dwight. *The Shi'ite Religion: A history of Islam in Persia and Irak. Luzac's Oriental Religions Series. Vol. VI*. London: Luzac & Company, 1933.

Dedicated to his wife, 'Companion in study and travel,' Donaldson seeks through his text to 'further the study of Shi'ite Islam.' (vii) Donaldson was resident in Meshed for sixteen years. His work stems from his PhD research at the Kennedy School of Missions in Harvard. The work is extremely comprehensive, and suggests how understanding of the distinctions between Sunni and Shia Islam was increasing.

Emanuel, W. V. *The Wild Asses: a journey through Persia*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1939.

Emanuel's work describes a group of twenty undergraduates and graduates' journey through Persia, with a brief detour to Heart in Afghanistan. Like many others, his work was initially published in several newspapers, cites Curzon and Sykes. His Preface also, however, notes his 'all too obvious' 'debt' to Robert Byron, whose 'advice and encouragement have been invaluable.' Furthermore, the work is remarkable for its depiction of a form of mass-travel, which is not yet tourism. The group travels in Chevrolet saloons, a Buick and a Studebaker.

Filmer, Henry. *The Pageant of Persia: A record of travel by motor in Persia with an account of its ancient and modern ways*. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1936.

Filmer's work opens with a three page collection of epigraphs and lengthy passages about Persia from writers as diverse as the correspondent of the Morning Post in 1903, Gobineau, Herodotus, Chardin and Vambery. Filmer's map records motor roads, passable motor roads, railways and projected railways, and depicts his journeys throughout the country, from Kerman in the south-east to Tabriz in the north-west, Meshed in the east, and Kermanshah in the west. The rather ornate writing style with frequent historical references contrasts with, for example, the practical record left by Davies' in his 1932 travelogue. Republished by Kegan Paul & Co. in 1937.

Forbes, Rosita. *Conflict: Angora to Afghanistan*. London: Cassell and Company, 1931.

Forbes was a well known travel-writer in the 1920s and 30s. *Conflict* contains a ten-page foreword by Percy Sykes, which considers the changes in the Near and Middle East in the aftermath of the Great War, specifically in Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. Forbes' choice of title comes from her discovery 'in every country' she visited (Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Persia, Azerbaijan and Kurdistan) 'a state of conflict, which included not only the inevitable racial, religious and political disputes, but a more formidable antagonism between the educated and the ignorant; between the free-thinker and the fanatic; between sexes, classes and generations.' (Author's Preface, xvii) Chapters on Persia include: 'Persia of the Oil-fields'; 'From Isfahan to Shiraz by Motor-Truck'; 'England and Russia in Modern Persia'; and 'With H. M. the Shah.' This describes a private interview with Reza Shah in which he outlines his plans for reform, and states at the chapter's close, 'I am a soldier, not a diplomat.' (187) The book also contains many reproductions of photographs.

Fullerton, Alice. *To Persia for Flowers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938.

Mrs Fullerton travelled with Miss Nancy Lindsay via Germany, Poland and Russia to Baku in the face of considerable opposition from friends. In Persia they collected specimens for the Natural History Museum, which supported their trip. The women go prepared to administer medicines to the Persians in remote towns, and interact with Persian families a great deal. An appendix ('for flower-lovers only') outlines the flowers with which they became familiar around Kasvin and Sultanabad.

Harris, Walter B. *East Again: The narrative of a journey in the Near, Middle and Far East.* London: Thornton Butterworth, 1933.

Harris had been correspondent of *The Times* in Tangier from 1887-1933, and this book was posthumously published. See also his 1896 publication, *From Batum to Baghdad viâ Tiflis, Tabriz, and Persian Kurdistan* (above). Chapter IV recounts his time in Persia which he enters by plane – thus contrasting sharply with his earlier experience of the country. On page 61 he notes that Persia can be reached in six days' air travel from London, but in a footnote that 'Since this was written the aeroplane service in Persia has been discontinued.' The chapter is primarily an analysis of the current situation in Persia rather than a description of his travels.

Herrmann, John A., and Cecil Borg. *Retracing Gengis Khan. A record of a journey through Afghanistan and Persia*. Boston, New York: Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Co., 1937.

The journey by car of two American graduates 'through with college and looking for adventure' in 1928; Afghanistan was the main point of interest for the pair, in which they spent eleven days. They travelled from Calcutta via Agra and Jaipur to Dehli, thence Peshawar, Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and in to Persia. Within Persia the route took in Meshed and Teheran only (see chapter XIV), before travelling on to Baghdad, Beirut, Alleppo and Alexandretta. With an epigraph from Kipling's 'Mandalay' – 'If you've 'eard the East a-callin', You won't never 'eed naught else.' Told in the first person, Herrmann, one assumes, writes of his childhood love of Kipling.

Herzfeld, Ernst E. *Archaeological History of Iran*. London: Oxford University Press, 1935.

Three lectures were originally given in December 1934 to The British Academy by the renowned archaeologist Herzfeld, whose career had been centred around the Middle East. In his preface, Herzfeld writes of the capacity of archaeology to illuminate pre-history. Lecture I 'The Pre-Achaemenian and the Achaemenian Epochs.' Lecture II 'The Hellenistic Period.' Lecture III 'The Sasanian Epoch.'

Ikbal Ali Shah, Sirdar. *Eastward to Persia*. London: Wright and Brown, 1930.

The writer offers a contrast to 'the literature on Persia in the English language' which is not written by 'an Oriental' and cannot, therefore, 'embrace the description of the many intimate facets of Persian life.' (v) The work intends to 'slay the dragon of misunderstanding' and 'to present to my readers the human element in those simple, loveable people of Persia.'(vii) The work is primarily an analytical history rather than a travelogue: chapters include 'Riza Shah the Soldier King of Persia,' 'Folklore of Persia,' 'Persian Carpets' and 'The Development of the Petroleum Industry in Persia.'

James, Frank. *Faraway Campaign. An account of the campaign in Afghanistan, 1916-1919.* London: Grayson & Grayson, 1934.

A record of British engagement in east Persia and Afghanistan, along the East Persian Cordon. Contains records of violent engagements in often remarkable writing style which is somewhat novelistic and highly engaging.

Moulvi, A. M. *Modern Iran*. Bombay: Saif Azad, 1938.

With a foreword by Mirza M. Ismail. For twenty years Moulvi taught Persian language and literature at the Government College of Bombay University, and through a knowledge of writers such as Browne and Sykes, considered himself well-acquainted with Persian culture, until informed by an acquaintance that only Browne's work was admirable. Moulvi then travelled to Iran where he found 'that the reality was much more interesting than my anticipation of it. This tempted me to write a short book of my travel in Iran or to use a more modest expression, my trip to Iran.' (iii) The work combines historical chapters with records of his travel, and contains a lengthy record of Reza Pahlavi's process of modernization.

Miller, Janet. *Camel-Bells of Baghdad. An adventurous journey to the city of the Arabian Nights, the Tower of Babel, the Garden of Eden, the Palace of Darius, the Bazaars of Teheran, and the Mountains and Deserts of Persia.* London: Putnam, 1935.

The American Miller amusingly describes her sudden urge to travel to Baghdad, roused by the books she is given in the British Museum reading room; she travels with the help of Cook's as the only woman on a merchant ship. Chapters on Persia also describe Isfahan, Shiraz, Persepolis, Meshed and Shah Riza Pahlavi. Of the Shah and his reforms, she writes: 'I wonder this progressive Shah does not abolish the veiling of Persian women.' (249) The next year he did. Miller also comments on the veil in Baghdad (25). Miller's experiences are varied and interesting, but the writing style is stilted.

Merritt-Hawkes, Onera Amelia. *Persia – Romance and Reality*. London: Ivor Nicolson and Watson, 1935.

Earlier records of her journey had appeared in the *Birmingham Post*. Merritt-Hawkes travelled by cargo boat from Manchester to Persia, the only passenger on board the boat. In the Residency at Bushire Merritt-Hawkes meets Sir Auriel Stein, 'the well-known Sanscrit scholar and archaeologist.' (2) Her route through Persia takes in Shiraz, Ispahan, Yezd, Kerman, Qum and Tehran. The writing style is highly detailed, and Merritt-Hawkes engages not surprisingly particularly with Persian women and children.

Morier, James. *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. Illustrated by Cyrus Leroy Baldridge.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1937.

Another re-edition of Morier's work, this one exuberantly illustrated by Baldridge who had spent a year in Persia (not called Iran in this work). Includes a number of coloured plates, including nude and semi-nude Persian women, as well many black and white pen drawings set within the text.

Morton, Rosalie Slaughter. *A Doctor's Holiday in Iran*. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1940.

Another American writer, Morton describes her long-standing desire to travel to Persia 'to observe the amazing social changes there.' (1) Her trip is scholarly: 'My major motive was to find answers to age-old questions; if I could solve one, even in part, such as the basic relation of women to evolution, I would feel that, added to the studies of many other men and women, it might lead toward the solution of a racial problem deep in the thought and heart of humanity.' In contrast, 1930s Europe is described as a place of 'political confusions and military barbarisms.' (2) She writes that: 'The unveiling of women has caught the world's imagination' but adds to this the 'unveiling' achievements of archaeology, general education, modern medicine and lessening of 'spiritual bondage.' Against the backdrop of the rise of Fascism, therefore, Iran is presented as a locus of progress and emancipation, a striking contrast to many earlier travel-writers, as she notes: 'It is odd that out of the ancient and weary East should come a lesson in modernism and an example of youth rebuilding a world. But it is challenging to remember that what they have done, we can do.' (5) After this remarkable introduction, the work takes a thematic and analytical form rather than following the route of her journey. Chapter XVIII is particularly interesting on 'The Unveiled Woman' and the 1932 Oriental Feminine Congress held in Teheran, 'presided over by the Shah's older daughter.' (311)

O'Connor, Frederick. *On the Frontier and Beyond: A record of thirty years' service*. London: John Murray, 1931.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederick describes his service under the Government of India. Chapters VII – 'Revolutionary Persia (1909)'; VIII – 'Two and a half years in Eastern Persia (1909-1912)'; IX – 'Chaos in Persia (1909-1912)'; X – 'Consul at Shiraz (1912-1914)'; XI – 'South Persia in the Great War (1914-1916)'. See also Appendix A – 'Letter handed to the author by the messenger from the Revolutionary Committee at Shiraz on the 10th November, 1915.'

_____. *Things Mortal: An autobiography*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940.

O'Connor's second autobiography covers much the same material as his first. He provides a useful summary of his time in Persia: 'I was appointed as Consul for the districts of Seistan and Kain, lying to the extreme east of Persia, bordering on Afghanistan. Here I served for the next three years (with a brief interval as Consul-General at Meshed), and after that as Consul of Shiraz, capital of the great province of Fars, until I was made prisoner there in 1915; and I finally left Persia for good in 1916, after a residence in that country of some seven years – much longer than I was in Tibet.' (104) See Chapters VII – 'Consul in Eastern Persia' from 1909; VIII – 'Consul at Shiraz'; and IX – 'Prisoner in Persia' which relates Wassmuss' machinations in southern Persia prior to the outbreak of WWI; O'Connor's arrest and interviews with Wassmuss; and eventual release. Like Rawlinson's memoir, the presence of O'Connor's dog is a key part of his narrative of imprisonment: 'I have only told this story to two people – Kipling, who in return presented with a copy of his *Collected Dog Stories* on the day of publication' and Robert H. Davies. O'Connor also describes his interaction with Curzon in India (48 ff.)

Pavry, Bapsy. *The heroines of ancient Persia: stories retold from the Shāhnāma of Firdausi.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930.

Pavry was the daughter of the 'distinguished Parsi Orientalist and eminate prelate-scholar' Dasturji Saheb Cursetji; brother of Dr Jal Dastur; and student of A. V. Williams (Preface, viii). The book is written 'to stress the important part played by women in Persian history, as depicted in Firdausi's poem.' (2) Nineteen chapters retell the stories in prose. The book includes With fourteen illustrations of 16th and 17th century miniatures from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Pavry, Jal Dastur Cursetji, ed. *Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry.* London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

'These studies are offered to Dasturji Saheb Cursetji Erachji Pavry in commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of his birthday and in recognition of his eminent position in the world of Zoroastrian literature.' The collection contains essays in English, French and German on an exceptionally wide range of topics including: 'A Note on the Chronology of the Behistūn Inscription of Darius' by Charles J. Ogden; 'Persian Dualism in the Far East' by P. Schmidt; 'Iranian Verbs in *–m* and *–p*' by H. W. Bailey; and 'The Influence of Iran upon Early Judaism and Christianity' by F. J. Foakes Jackson.

Pope, Arthur Upham. *An introduction to Persian art since the seventh century.* London: P. Davies, 1930.

The American scholar Pope writes in his introduction: 'the sudden appearance of Exhibitions, Congresses, Monograph and Treatises on Persian Art, the opening of Persia to archaeological enterprise and the recent formation of Institutes and Societies in various countries are proof of a growing interest that creates an almost imperative demand for an introduction to the subject which shall be available to any general reader who seriously cares for art.' The work is a prelude to his 'forthcoming Survey of Art' (see below). The work is arranged around subject, including ceramics, carpets, textiles, metal and gardens, and contains over one hundred plates.

_____ and Phyllis Ackerman, eds. *A Survey of Persian Art from prehistoric times to the present. 7 vol.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938-9.

'Published under the auspices of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology' whose other publications have been discussed above. The over-sized volumes contain a large number of sketches, architectural drawings and catalogues. The monumental work covers the following topics: Volume I 'Pre-Achaemenid, Archaemenid, Parthian and Sāsānian Periods'; Volume II 'Architecture, The Ceramic Arts, Calligraphy and Epigraphy'; Volume III 'The Art of the Book, Textiles, Carpets, Metalwork, Minor Arts.' Volumes IV-VI contain plates of images discussed.

Reitlinger, Gerald Roberts. *A Tower of Skulls: A journey through Persia and Turkish Armenia.* London: Duckworth, 1932.

Reitlinger points to others who have travelled in Persia, and writes: 'For the intimate life and the thought of the East the reader must be referred to their books. From three months' hurried travel I have tried to draw the tones, lights and shadows of a limited but eminently pictorial world which it was my lot to see, and to more than this I cannot pretend.' (12) Reitlinger in a brief bibliographic commentary praises Sykes' *History of Persia*, Curzon's *Persia*, and works by Lynch and Rawlinson (see chapter 4) amongst others. During his time in Persia Reitlinger is interrogated by police repeatedly, and covers a good deal of ground by car.

Richards, Fred. *A Persian Journey: Being an etcher's impressions of the Middle East with forty-eight drawings.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1931.

Richards visited Isfahan, Julfa, Shiraz, Persepolis, Shiraz, Yezd, Kerman, Meshed, Tabriz and Teheran. In addition to the black and white sketches there is a good deal of written material on Richards' experience of Persia, much of which was facilitated by British officials including Percy Loraine, by this date in Cairo, Sir Robert Clive and G. T. Harvard, Oriental Secretary to H. M. Legation in Teheran.

Richards, John. *The Open Road in Persia*. London: Church Missionary Society, 1933.

The Foreword by J. H. Linton, Bishop in Persia, speaks of the "New Persia" with the great expansion of the road network; and also the regulations and restrictions being introduced by the new Shah. Linton writes: 'We look forward, and dare to believe that Persia does sincerely value the disinterested work for her people which Christian missionaries have so cheerfully given in hospitals and schools over a long number of years, and that she will wish to keep a place in her future plans for that social, moral, and spiritual strength which has unquestionably been contributed by Christian missionaries who rejoice to be God's servants for the truest good of Persia.' (vi) Richards had spent some years in Persia. His chapters include 'The New Persia' with reference to Sykes work during WWI and Shah Pahlavi's reforms; 'The Task of the Church'; 'Methods of Evangelism'; and '"One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism"'. The work concludes: 'Persia is at the cross roads. Islam cannot help her; Baha'ism has nothing to offer her. Christ or materialism – that is the choice that lies before her. Which road will she take?'

Rosen, Maud von. *Persian pilgrimage: being the story of a journey through Persia with its experiences and adventures.* Translated from the Swedish by Evelyn C. Ramsden. London: Robert Hale, 1937.

The half-Armenian, half-Turkish writer, daughter of emigrants, dedicates her book to her 'countrymen in Iran, and their Scandinavian kinsmen, who have had the happiness to assist the Iranian nation in its work of developing and improving its charming country under the leadership of its powerful ruler.' The book contains many recounted conversations. Von Rosen entered Persia through Russia, and travelled to Teheran, where she was briefly in hospital, and Isfahan.

Royal Academy of Arts. *Persian Art: An illustrated souvenir of the exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House, London, 1931.* London: 1931.

With an 'Introduction' by A. T. Wilson; an explanation of the 'Arrangement of the Galleries' by Reginald Blomfield, Arthur Upham Pope and Leigh Aston; and a two and a half page exposition on 'Some Aspects of Persian Art' by Roger Fry. The rest of the book comprises pictures from all areas of the exhibition, most in black and white but some in colour: 'Metals and Sculptures,' 'Miniatures,' 'Ceramics,' 'Textiles,' and 'Miscellaneous.'

Ross, Edward Denison. *The Persians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931.

The Preface opens: 'The lack of a short comprehensive work on Persia in all its aspects, geographical, historical, artistic and literary, has long been felt, but the immediate occasion for the appearance of this little book is the forthcoming International Exhibition of Persian Art to be held in London in 1931.' (7) Ross goes on to say that Curzon's work remains 'the indispensible guide for the traveller, and the best work of reference for the student' in spite of the immense changes in the country. He also notes that 'Curzon's *Persia* has, unfortunately, been long out of print, and its second-hand price is almost prohibitive.' (8) Ross' chapters include: The Country and the People; Persian History; Journeys Through Persia; Persian Art and Persian Literature.

_____, ed. *Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure. Including some contemporary narratives relating thereto.* London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1933.

As part of the Broadway Travellers Series, Ross proffers a new edition of the perennially popular late-sixteenth and early seventeenth-century traveller with extracts also from William Parry, Abel Pinçon and George Manwaring. See pages 12-50 for Sherley's time in Persia.

_____, ed. *The Journal of Robert Stodart. Being an account of his experiences as a member of Sir Dodmore Cotton's mission in Persia in 1628-29. Published from the unique manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library, with an introduction and notes by Sir E. Denison Ross.* London: Luzac & Co., 1935.

Stodart was an apparently minor member of the mission to Shah Abbas' court. In his introduction Denison Ross makes reference to a number of early modern travellers, including Thomas Herbert, Anthony Jenkinson and Anthony Sherley.

Sheean, Vincent. *In Search of History*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1935.

Sheean, the American journalist, had written on his time in Persia before (see above, *The New Persia*, 1927). This lengthy autobiography covers much of his life to date, and includes reminiscences about his time in Persia with Sackville-West and Nicolson in 1926 (see pages 193-5). He also stayed with the couple at Long Barn (304) and with Nicolson in Berlin (304-11).

Singer, Caroline and Cyrus Leroy Baldridge. *Half the World is Isfahan*. London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1936.

The couple collaborated on this large travelogue told in the historical present and illustrated generously – many pencil sketches reproduced in the margins, some full page colour works, and some full page montages of a number of either sketches of watercolours including, notably, facing pages 26 and 136, images of unveiled Persian women. The couple travelled throughout a good deal of the country, barring the south-western desert.

Stark, Freya. *The Valleys of the Assassins, and other Persian travels.* London: John Murray, 1934.

Stark's first major published work describes her travels in Luristan and Mazanderan, on the trail of treasure and Neolithic graves, and the home of the Assassins respectively. In its detailed day-to-day narrative as well as remote destinations it contrasts with most other travelogues of the 1930s. Like its near contemporary, *The Road to Oxiana* by Robert Byron, it was warmly received for its writing style, and has since been considered one of the masterpieces of twentieth-century travel-writing.

Stein, Aurel. *An Archaeological Tour in the Ancient Persis*. London: 1936.

Stein recounts his extensive excavations of November 1933-May 1934 in the Iranian Province of Fārs (east of Shiraz), which followed his work in Persian Balūchistān and Kermān, and along the coast of the Persian Gulf. The archaeological discoveries are threaded along the narrative of his journey.

_____. *Old Routes of Western Iran: narrative of an archaeological journey.* London: Macmillan, 1940.

This large work 'is intended to furnish a record of the last and longest of four journeys which carried me during the years 1932-6 through an extensive belt of Southern and Western Iran.' (Introduction, vii) The chapters include: 'In Westernmost Fars'; 'In Kohgalu Tracts'; 'Through Bakhtiari Hills'; and 'Through Persian Kurdistan.' The book is generously illustrated with photographs and some archaeological sketches. Like the work above, this text is a combination of archaeological report and travelogue in its narrative form.

Storey, Charles Ambrose. *Persian literature: a bio-bibliographical survey*. London: Luzac & Co., 1935-71.

An immense reference work which surveys Persian literature in both printed and manuscript form, drawing on a variety of sources for its information including catalogues of manuscripts held by various libraries and museums such as E. G. Browne's catalogue of Cambridge University Persian manuscripts. Storey intended to create 'a counterpart to Brockelmann's *Geschicte der arabischen Litteratur*.' (Preface,Volume 1, v) Storey categorises his works by subject, offering biographical information about a writer at the point where most of his works are collected. Volume I: Section I – Qur'anic Literature; Section II History, Biography, etc. (with many subsections). Volume II: Part I – Mathematics, Weights and Measures, Astronomy and Astrology, Geography; Part II – Medicine; Part III – Encyclopaedias and Miscellanies, Arts and Crafts, Science, Occult Arts. Volume III – Lexicography, Grammar, Prosody and Poetics.

Sykes, Percy Molesworth. *A History of Persia. 3rd Edition, with supplementary essays, 2 vol.* London: Macmillan & Co., 1930.

Sykes' history of Persia remained a key reference work, and considered now in its closing chapters the Constitutional Revolution and its failures, the Great War over five chapters, and 'Persia after the Great War.' His 'List of Authorities' includes Donohoe and Dunsterville's war memoirs.

Tattersall, Creassey. *The Carpets of Persia: A book for those who use and admire them.* London: Luzac & Company, 1931.

This small book aims 'to give a general account of what is known about Persian carpets, partly for the use of those who, not already connoisseurs, have admired and felt interested when seeing them in exhibitions, public collections or even shop windows; and also in order to supply practical information

to others who own them… and who wish to enjoy them to the full.' (9) Plates include collections from the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Anglo-Persian Carpet Co., amongst others. Chapters cover topics such as the classification of Persian carpets, the dating of carpets, conservation and method of study, and the book is interspersed with sketches of typical designs. The book was written for the 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy.

Tweedy, Owen. *Cairo to Persia and Back*. London: Jarrolds, 1933.

This weighty travelogue describes a five-month journey by car with Roy Shepeard Walwyn. Tweedy had previously written travelogues on Africa and Russia. See chapters XXII-XXXII for the men's time in Persia, during which Tweedy flies from Teheran to Meshed, where he witnesses Moharrem. Tweedy interacts with members of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and British diplomatic officials during his time in Persia.

Williams, Ernest L. H., and Sidney Hay. *By Order of the Shah. A relation of a journey through Persia*. London: Cassell & Co, 1937.

The authors' note speaks of the men visiting Iran eight times, but not knowing it comprehensively, 'because, like Paradise, they have but sampled it.' (vii) The note points to 'Herodotus, Marco Polo, Chardin, Curzon, Browne, and Sykes' as 'a long line of distinguished travellers who have given colour to the distant canvas.' The note also opens with a bleak expression of the censorship existent in Iran: 'Riza Shah imposes limits sternly repressing anyone likely to give the world unexpurgated news of Iran. Not only does the country remain difficult of access, but professional and commercial reins curb the tongue of the foreigner.' The work draws on articles previously published in journals including the *Morning Post*, the *R.A.F. Quarterly*, *Great Britain and the East*, and contains many photographs. Part I takes the form of a travelogue, while part II contains an historical survey of the country.

Wilson, Sir Arnold Talbot. *A Bibliography of Persia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930.

Wilson seeks to help students of Persia to avoid falling under 'the classic condemnation of Lord Curzon (himself the most tireless student of earlier writers) of those who "either not having read what has been written by better men before, or, reading it only in order to plagiarize and reproduce it as their own, misunderstand, misspell, and misinterpret everywhere as they go."' (vi) The Introductory Note also acknowledges some of the limitations of the work, noting 'to describe the various editions and translations of Chardin, for instance, would involve an amount of research for which the compiler has neither leisure nor facilities.' (ix)

_____. *Persia*. London: Ernest Benn, 1932.

Wilson's text is part of a series on 'The Modern World: A Survey of Historical Forces' edited by H. A. L. Fisher; other countries included Arabia by H. St. J. Phillby, Egypt, France, Germany, India by Valentine Chirol, Russian, Turkey, and Spain. Fisher's foreword speaks of Wilson knowing Persians 'intimately as a traveller, a soldier, and administrator and a man of business, and he brings to his study of Persian problems, not only a high degree of technical equipment in the art of government, but a deep affection for the East and an admiration for its arts and letters.' (v) Wilson had been heavily involved in the 1931 Exhibition of Persian Art, and in his own preface he stresses the contemporaneity of his research and the up-to-date picture of the country his work provides. Of recent writers, Wilson notably praises Sykes' 'comprehensive *History of Persia*' and Pope's *Introduction to Persian Art*, and not Curzon's work. Wilson's chapters include: 'Description of the Country'; 'The Persian People'; 'Commerce and Industry'; 'The Foreign Relations of Persia'; 'The Literature of Persia'; and 'Currency and Finance'. In scope and research the book therefore echoes Curzon's text of forty years earlier.

Wulsin, Frederick R. 'Excavations at Tureng Tepe, Near Asterābād.' *Supplement to the Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archeology*, Volume 2 (March, 1932).

A record of Wulsin and his wife's work, which followed the 1930 declaration by the Persian Government that archaeological work could be undertaken in the country. 'Excavations in the west mound have revealed a Bronze Age culture of considerable interest and importance. Little or nothing has been known of that period in this region.' (12)

Appendix B – Timeline[1]

Year	Political Events	Travelogues
1844		Alexander Kinglake, *Eothen: or, traces of travel, brought home from the east.* Eliot Warburton, *The Crescent and the Cross: or, romance and realities of eastern travel*.
1848		Harriet Martineau, *Eastern Life, Present and Past, 3 vol.*
1849		Austen Henry Layard, *Nineveh and its remains: with an account of a visit to the Chaldæan Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or devil-worshippers; and an inquiry into the manners and arts of the ancient Assyrians.* Robert Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant.*
1856-7	Anglo-Persian War	
1858		Herodotus. *The History of Herodotus. 4 vol.* Trans. and ed. by George Rawlinson (1858-60)
1859		
1862		Mary Eliza Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine*. George Rawlinson, *The five great monarchies of the ancient eastern world, or, The history, geography and antiquities of Chaldaea, Assyria, Babylon, Media and Persia: collected and illustrated from ancient and modern sources. 4 vol.* London: John Murray, 1862-1867.
1864		Francis Power Cobbe, *Cities of the Past*.
1865		Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt, 1863-65.*
1870		Agnes Smith Lewis, *Eastern Pilgrims: The travels of three ladies.*
1871		Marco Polo. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East. 2 vol.* Trans. and ed. Sir Henry Yule.
1872	Reuter Concession – a sweeping concession made towards Baron Julius Reuter for the economic development of Persia	
1873	18 June – 5 July – Nasir ud-Din Shah's State Visit to England November – cancellation of the Reuter Concession	
1874		
1875		Isabella Burton, *Inner Life of Syria, Palestine and the Holy Land, from my private journal.*
1876		
1877		
1878		
1879		Lady Anne Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates.*

[1] This timeline is designed to clarify the main political events in Persia and Anglo-Persian relations between 1890 and 1940. It includes all travelogues discussed within the body of the thesis, as well as travelogues on other countries by key writers, such as Ella Sykes' work on Canada (1912). Some travelogues on regions contingent to Persia, specifically the Middle East, Central Asia, and North-Western India are also included.

Occasionally, travelogues which fit into neither of the previous three categories have been included, when their impact has been so substantial to the field of travel-writing that a sense of the timing of their appearance amongst other lesser known works is helpful. *Travels in West Africa* by Mary Kingsley (1897) is an example of this third category.

1880		
1881		Lady Anne Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd, the cradle of the Arab race: a visit to the court of the Arab Emir, and "Our Persian Campaign"*.
1882		
1883		W. H. Davenport Adams, *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century*. Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*. Francis Galton, *Art of Travel, seventh edition*.
1884		
1885		
1886		
1887	Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff appointed British Minister in Persia (until 1890)	S. G. W. Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*.
1888		Yate, Charles Edward. *Northern Afghanistan; or, letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission.*
1889	Foundation of Imperial Bank of Persia, the British run state bank. 1-29 July – Nasir ud-Din Shah's second State visit to England.	L.C. Davidson, *Hints to Lady Travellers at Home and Abroad*. Mark S. Bell, *Isfahan to Bushire*. Mark S. Bell, *Kum to Isfahan*. George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia, and the Anglo-Russian Question*.
1890	G. Talbot obtains tobacco concession.	
1891	Sir Frank C. Lascelles appointed British Minister in Persia (until 1894)	Isabella Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*. S. Benjamin, *The Story of Persia: The story of the nations*. Harry De Windt, *A Ride to India across Persia and Baluchistan.*
1892	Talbot's tobacco concession cancelled following protests.	Cuthbert Biddulph, *Four Months in Persia*. George Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*.
1893		Edward Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*. Frances Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople.*
1894	Sir Mortimer M. Durand appointed British Minister in Tehran (until 1900)	Gertrude Bell, *Safar Nameh. Persian Pictures. A book of travel*.
1895		Charles Wilson (ed.), *Murray's Handbooks: handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia*. *Murray's Handbooks: handbook for travellers in Constantinople, Brusa and the Troad*.
1896	1st May Shah Nasr al-Din assassinated.	Hogarth, David George, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant.*
1897		Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa: Congo Français, Corisco and Cameroons*.
1898		Robert Graham. *Mograbel-Acksa: a journey in Morocco, etc*. Agnes Lewis Smith, *In the Shadow of Sinai*. Ella Sykes, *Through Persia on a Side Saddle.*
1899		Francis Skrine and Sir Edward Denison Ross. *The Heart of Asia. A history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the earliest times.*
1900	Sir Arthur Hardinge appointed British Minister in Persia (until 1905)	
1901	May – a petroleum concession granted to William Knox D'arcy, to run for 60 years, in all but five northern provinces	Thomas Holdich, *The Indian Borderland 1880-1900*. Ella Sykes, *Through Persia on a Side-Saddle* (2nd edn.)
1902	17-25 August – Muzaffar ud-Din Shah's State visit to England	Ella Durand, *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia*. Arnold Landor, *Across Coveted Lands*. Donald Stewart, *The Struggle for Persia*. Percy Molesworth Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia, or eight years in Iran*.

1903	November-December – Curzon's tour of the Persian Gulf as Viceroy of India	E. Butler, *Letters from the Holy Land*. Valentine Chirol, *The Middle Eastern Question*. Henry Whigham, *The Persian Problem*.
1904		
1905		David Fraser, *A Modern Campaign; or, War and wireless telegraphy in the Far East.* A. Goodrich Freer, *In a Syrian Saddle*. David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a record of the development of Western knowledge concerning the Arabian Peninsula.* Mrs Napier Malcolm, *Five Years in a Persian Town*.
1906	Sir Cecil Spring-Rice appointed British Minster in Persia (until 1908) July – occupation of British legation grounds by Persians calling for a constitution October – the first *majlis* (parliamentary assembly) convened.	
1907	Anglo-Russian Convention signed on 31st of August	Claude Anet, *Through Persia in a Motor-Car by Russia and the Caucasus*. Gertrude Bell, *The Desert and The Sown*. Eliot Williams, *Across Persia*.
1908	Sir George Barclay appointed British Minister in Persia (until 1912) April – oil struck in Persia; Anglo-Persian Oil Company launched. Shah Mohammed Ali with the Persian Cossack Brigade succeeds in temporarily crushing the nationalist movement. Civil war breaks out.	Kelman, John. *From Damascus to Palmyra*.
1909	Shah Mohammed Ali abdicates in favour of his son.	Edith Fraser Benn, *An Overland Trek from India by Side-Saddle, Camel and Rail.* F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Through Persia: from the Gulf to the Caspian.* E. G. Browne, *A Brief Narrative Of Recent Events in Persia.* E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*. David Fraser, *The Short Cut to India: the record of a journey along the route of the Baghdad Railway*. M. E. Hume-Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia*. T. L. Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier.* G. P. Tate, *The Frontiers of Baluchistan*.
1910		E. G. Browne, *The Reign of Terror at Tabriz.* David Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt*. Ella Sykes, *Persia and Its People*. Percy Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*.
1911	Russian atrocities committed in Tabriz. Shah Mohammed Ali attempts to regain his throne. May – The American Morgan Shuster, appointed treasurer-general with powers to redress the country's finances, arrives in Persia. November – Russia occupies Rasht and Ezeli. Britain agrees that Morgan Shuster must be dismissed. December – suppression of Majlis.	Gertrude Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*. John Foster Fraser, *The Land of Veiled Women: some wanderings in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco.*
1912	Sir Walter Townley appointed British Minister in Persia (until 1915) Russian forces bomb Meshed shrine.	M. Hameed Ullah Khan, *A pilgrimage to Mecca and the Near East.* W. Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia*. Ely Bannister Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise.* Ella Sykes, *A Home-Help in Canada.*
1913		
1914	On the outbreak of war in Europe, Persia declares her neutrality	Jeffries, W. Carey, *Two Undergraduates in the East*. Arthur Moore, *The Orient Express*. A. Neligan, *Hints for Residents and Travellers in Persia*.
1915	Britain gains control of the central neutral sphere as defined by the 1907 convention, in return for acknowledging Russia's position in Constantinople	Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria*. Benjamin Moore, *From Moscow to the Persian Gulf*. Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*.

	and the Straits. Charles M. Marling appointed British Minister in Persia (until 1918).	
1916	March – Percy Sykes lands at Bandar Abbas and starts to recruit for the South Persia Rifles.	T. C. Fowle, *Travels in the Middle East*.
1917		John Arthur Ransome. *The Eastern Question: An historical study in European diplomacy.*
1918	Sir Percy Cox – Chargé d'affaires and Special Comissioner (until 1920). British troops enter Persia from Baghdad and establish headquarters at Qazvin.	Marmaduke William Pickthall, *Oriental Encounters: Palestine and Syria 1894, 5, 6*.
1919	August – the Anglo-Persian Agreement issued. 31 October-8 November – Ahmad Shah's State visit to England.	Edmund Candler, *On the Edge of the World*. M. Donohoe, *With the Persian Expedition*.
1920	Herman C. Norman appointed British Minister in Persia (until 1921) Spring – Russian forces launch a surprise attack on a British flotilla at Enzeli, southern port on the Caspian Sea; British retreat following the proclamation of a Persian Socialist Republic in the province of Gilan, home of Enzeli. Autumn – British War Office sends General Edmund Ironside to northern Persia, where the Russian Cossacks were willing to fight the Bolshevists; Ironside replaces the head of the Cossacks with Reza Khan.	Lionel Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*. Edith Wharton, *In Morocco*. Ella Sykes, *Through deserts and oases of Central Asia.* With Percy Molesworth Sykes.
1921	Sir Percy Loraine appointed British Minister in Persia (until 1926) February – following assurances that Britain would not oppose a coup d'état as long as the British subsidized Shah was not deposed, Reza Khan seizes power on the 21st. His co-conspirator Seyyed Zia Tabatabari is appointed Prime Minister. May – Reza Khan is appointed Army Commander, and subsequently Minister of War; Seyyid Zia is ousted. Repudiation of 1919 Agreement by Persian Government. British troops withdraw from Persia.	Reginald Dyer, *The Raiders of the Sarhad*. William Rupert Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan: Experiences of a political officer, 1918-1920*.
1922	1922-5 – Reza Khan waged successive campaigns against Kurds, Shahsavans, Lurs, Baluchis, Turcomans and the British protégé the Sheikh of Mohammerah in Arabistan, with the goal of minimising the threat of separatism.	L. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia*. Percy Sykes, *Persia*.
1923	Reza Khan appointed Prime Minister.	George N. Curzon, *Tales of Travel*. Edward Powell, *By Camel and Car to the Peacock Throne*. Alfred Rawlinson, *Adventures in the Near East, 1918-22*. Ethel Brilliana Tweedie, *Mainly East*.
1924	Fifth Majlis convenes on 11th February, and immediately passes a package of reforms including: compulsory two year military service; abolition of decorative court titles (a hallmark of the Qajar Court); obligation on all citizens to obtain birth certificates and to register a family name; the introduction of standardized weights and measures. 1st April – Reza Khan issues a declaration stating that after consultation with the ulema at Qom, there would be no republic in Iran.	William Dickson*, East Persia: A backwater of the Great War*.
1925	31st October – Ahmad Shah deposed. December – Reza Khan declared new Shah of Persia.	Sir Thomas Comyn-Platt, *By Mail and Messenger*. F. Forbes-Leith, *By Car to India*.
1926	Coronation of Reza Khan.	E. G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians* (prefaced by Denison Ross). George Curzon, *Leaves from a viceroy's notebook and other papers.* T.E. Lawrence. *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A triumph*. Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran.*
1927	Dress codes imposed.	Sir John Chardin, *Sir John Chardin's Travels in*

	Inauguration of Trans-Iranian Railway Project.	*Persia*. F. Forbes-Leith, *Checkmate: Fighting tradition in Central Persia*. Arthur Henry Hardinge, *A Diplomatist in Europe*. Coleridge Kennard, *Suhaïl: A diary of travellers in Persia and Baluchistan*. H. V. Morton, *In Search of England*. Vincent Sheean, *The New Persia*.
1928	Foundation of the National Bank of Iran.	Gertrude Bell, *Persian Pictures* (prefaced by Denison Ross). Amory Copley, *Persian Days*. A. Edwards, *A Persian Caravan*. Hermann Norden, *Under Persian Skies*. Vita Sackville-West, *Twelve Days: An account of a journey across the Bakhtiari Mountains of South-Western Persia*.
1929		William Cash, *Persia Old and New*. Malcolm Ellis, *Express to Hindustan*. E. Ness, *Ten Thousand Miles in Two Continents.*
1930	November – Persian Government passed a law allowing excavation of archaeological sites by certain institutions.	Arnold Wilson, *Bibliography of Persia*.
1931		Rosita Forbes, *Conflict: Angora to Afghanistan*. Fred Richards, *A Persian Journey*. Edward Denison Ross, *The Persians*.
1932	November – cancellation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession.	Robert Davies, *A Light Car Odyssey*. Gerald Reitlinger, *A Tower of Skulls*. Arnold Wilson, *Persia*.
1933		John Richards, *The Open Road in Persia*. Owen Tweedy, *Cairo to Persia and Back*.
1934	Law for the foundation of Tehran University ratified.	Freya Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins*.
1935	Shah Pahlavi decreed that from March 21st Persia should be known as Iran.	Onera Merritt-Hawkes, *Persia – Romance and Reality.*
1936	Abolition of the veil.	Henry Filmer, *The Pageant of Persia*. Peter Fleming, *News from Tartary.* Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in the Ancient Persis.*
1937		Robert Byron, *The Road to Oxiana*. Rosita Forbes, *Forbidden Road: Kabul to Samarkand*. Archibald Milne Hamilton, *Road Through Kurdistan: The narrative of an engineer in Iraq*. Ernest Williams and Sidney Hay, *By Order of the Shah*.
1938		M. Braaksma, *Travel and Literature: An attempt at a literary appreciation of English travel-books about Persia, from the Middle Ages to the present day.* Alice Fullerton, *To Persia for Flowers*. Freya Stark, *Baghdad Sketches*.
1939	Outbreak of World War II.	W. Emanuel, *The Wild Asses*. Percy Sykes, ed., *Explorers All: Famous Journeys in Asia*.
1940		Gertrude Bell, *Persian Pictures* (prefaced by V. Sackville-West). Freya Stark, *Winter in Arabia*. Aurel Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*. Percy Sykes. *A History of Afghanistan. 2 vol*.
1941	Allied invasion and occupation of Iran. Abdication of Reza Shah and succession of his son, Mohammad Reza Shah.	